

JPRS-UPS-85-011

12 February 1985

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

12 February 1985

USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL

U.S.-Pakistan Ties Seen as Threat to South Asia, Persian Gulf (Vasiliy Alekseyev; Moscow in Persian to Iran, 18 Dec 84)	1
U.S., NATO Military Aid to Pakistan Criticized (V. Vinogradov; KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 16 Dec 84)	4
Table of Contents: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 10, 1984	8
ASEAN, U.S. Seen as Hindering Southeast Asia 'Normalization' (APN Daily Review, 25 Oct 84)	10
Alternative to North-South Dialogue Viewed (APN Daily Review, 25 Oct 84)	12
Work of Africa Institute Reviewed on 25th Anniversary (APN Daily Review, 25 Oct 84)	13
Kim on Consequences of Arms Race in Third World (G. Kim; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 84)	14
Contemporary Stage of Western Economic Expansion Analyzed (A. Dinkevich; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 84) .	22
Unregulated Economic Sector of Developing Countries Described (V. Belokrenitskiy; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 84)	30
Turkey's Trade With Islamic Countries (A. Sarzhin; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 84) ...	38
French Colonial Hold on Indian Ocean Islands Criticized (I. Ivanov; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 84)	44

Monograph on Western Monopolies in Southeast Asia Reviewed (A. Rogozhin; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 84) ...	48
Book Criticizing International Zionism Reviewed (O. Kovtunovich; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 84).	50
Soviets Aid Ethiopian GES Construction, Drought Control (Z. Kadymbekov; IZVESTIYA, 21 Nov 84)	52
Catholics Seen Divided Over Role of Latin American Church (K. Khachaturov; IZVESTIYA, 23 Nov 84)	55

NATIONAL

Chekharin Interviewed on Education Reform (Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich Chekharin Interview; OTCHIZNA, No 12, Dec 84)	58
Concept of Socialist Realism Reaffirmed (Yu. A. Lukin; ZNAMYA, No 11, Nov 84)	64
Soviet Administrative-Territorial Structure Explored (Yu. Todorskiy; SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV, No 9, Sep 84)	77
Legal Status of Autonomous Republic Governments Examined (A. Atayev, G. Gadzhiev; SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV, No 9, Sep 84)	81
Council on Religious Affairs' Duties Described (IZVESTIYA, 4 Jan 85)	84
Baptist Youth Conference Urges Struggle for Peace (TASS, 21 Jan 85)	85
Soviet School Reforms Revised (T. Kutsenko; SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA, 29 Dec 84)	86

REGIONAL

Shcherbitskiy Addresses Kiev Party Functionaries (V. V. Shcherbitskiy; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 13 Jan 85)	88
Armenian CP Holds Conference on Discipline (SOVETAKAN AYASTAN, 15 Dec 84)	96
Yerevan Session on Economic, Social Development (SOVETAKAN AYASTAN, 15 Dec 84)	98
Armenian Cleric Gives Christmas Address (Vazgeny; AZTAG, 5 Jan 85)	100
Western Use of Clerical Islamic Anticommunism (Asadulla Gurbanov; SOVET KENDI, 4 Dec 84)	102

Azerbaijan CP Buro Discusses 1984 Plan Fulfillment (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 6 Jan 85)	106
Knowledge of Russian Language for Lithuanians Justified (J. Siupsinskas; VALSTIECIU LAIKRASTIS, 11 Oct 84)	107
KaSSR Construction Materials Industry Board Meets KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 16 Jan 85)	111
Uzbek Procuracy on Environmental Issues, Work With Youth (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 25 Dec 84)	111
Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro Meets (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 27 Dec 84)	112
Usmankhodzhayev Presents Award to Tashkent Oblast (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 18 Dec 84)	112
Armenian Seniors Polled by Sociologist (R. Pogosyan; KOMMUNIST, 29 Dec 84)	113
Uzbek Commission on Shortcomings in Water Use (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 25 Dec 84)	114
Usmankhodzhayev Speaks at New Political Awareness Course (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 6 Jan 85)	115
Uzbek Scientist Urges Ecologically Sound Land Development (A. Saidov; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 3 Jan 85)	116
Namangan Police Battle Foreign Emblems on Cars (N. Shamsutdinov; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 18 Jan 85)	117
Usmankhodzhayev at Tashkent Oblast Komsomol Conference (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 20 Jan 85)	117
Briefs Reshuffle in Dnepropetrovsk Obkom	118

INTERNATIONAL

U.S.-PAKISTAN TIES SEEN AS THREAT TO SOUTH ASIA, PERSIAN GULF

NC191222 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1800 GMT 18 Dec 84

[Commentary by Vasiliy Alekseyev]

[Text] Washington's policy regarding Pakistan is causing increasing concern and apprehension among countries in South and Southwest Asia and in the Indian Ocean area. Washington is encouraging the Pakistani regime's great militaristic ambitions. The U.S. administration is increasing its delivery of aircraft, tanks and artillery to Pakistan. For example, among the weapons delivered to Pakistan are F-16 fighters which can carry nuclear arms, harpoon sea missiles, and the most modern types of air-to-air missiles.

As stated by military observers, the volume and quality of weapons that the U.S. administration and other countries are delivering to Pakistan are far greater than that country's defense needs, especially when we consider the fact that no danger is threatening Pakistan's borders. Thus, the question that naturally arises is: What objective is Washington--which is arming Pakistan's military regime more than enough--pursuing, and what role is allocated to Pakistan in the U.S. scenario of growth and development in Asia in particular, and in the world in general?

In this connection, what one primarily sees is the U.S. administration's efforts to alter the existing stability of forces on the subcontinent. It is not accidental that imperialist propaganda is fanning the flames and amplifying the tale of the threat to Pakistan from the East, meaning India. India's rage over such forgeries by U.S. media organs is very understandable. Moreover, various anti-Indian groups are trying--through terrorist operations and secessionist moves--to weaken and divide peace-loving India and thus diminish the importance of India as a powerful element for peace and stability in the region, so that they can set up a foothold in Pakistan.

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger says that without a Pakistan which is not confident in its forces, resistance in Afghanistan will be defeated. This is how Pakistan's role in yet another aspect of the U.S. administration's foreign policy is spelled out. In this connection, Pakistan is used especially as a base for the undeclared war that is being waged against the DRA; and this too is one of the duties that the U.S. administration has allocated to Pakistan in its plans to establish control and supervision over a vast area extending from Japan to the Persian Gulf and to east Africa.

A special report prepared by the U.S. Defense Department's research center for the Pentagon states that if rapid deployment forces are sent from Diego Garcia and the Philippines to the Persian Gulf, Pakistan can play an extraordinarily important role in these transfers.

[NC191235] The Indian press previously reported that the U.S. administration has received permission to set up electronic spying centers in Gwardar, Peshawar, and (?Sardah) which will monitor war operations in the Indian Ocean.

Zia-ul Haq, head of Pakistan's military regime, basically ignores the proposal by India on signing an agreement on peace, friendship, and cooperation, possibly because this agreement includes clauses that rule out setting up military bases by third countries on the territories of the two signatories.

In Washington's present strategy, allocating gendarme duties, which the United States is implementing from various parts of the world, to U.S. allies has been foreseen. On this occasion, the Indian weekly BLITZ reported that the Pentagon has helped Pakistan to form a 20,000-strong army charged with special duties which has been trained and armed on the pattern of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force. The weekly also reports that another such army is now being formed. The press also reported that nearly 20,000 Pakistani Armed Forces' personnel are serving in Saudi Arabia, that one-third of the total men of the Omani Navy personnel are Pakistanis, and that all of them have been taught antiriot techniques.

Finally, the U.S. administration is trying--with the help of Pakistan--to form political-military groups in South and Southwest Asia and in the Persian Gulf so that it can thus revive the positions it lost with the overthrow of the shah's regime in Iran. In light of these realities, the efforts by Pakistan's military regime to revive the activities of the Regional Cooperation for Development, which was formerly the economic offspring of the aggressive CENTO pact, can be seen.

Militarization has serious negative effects on Pakistan's economic progress. The deficit in the balance of payments is increasing and inflation is growing. Pakistan--a country with a per capita income of \$350 and a country where 70,000 die each year from tuberculosis--is spending astronomic amounts for military purposes. For example, during the fiscal years of 1984 and 1985, \$2 billion were allocated to this--almost one-third of the total budget of that country. Pakistan's economic dependence on the U.S. administration and on other Western capitalist countries is increasing. Pakistan's military regime assured U.S. businessmen that not even one U.S. company in Pakistan will be nationalized. It is also interesting to note that the percentage of shares held by imperialist investors in various units increased from 49 percent to 75 percent.

Since its inception, Zia-ul Haq's regime has been pursuing the policy of tramping and violating the democratic rights of toilers and it has also limited the activities of unions and other social organizations. Thus, the reason is very clear why this regime is so detested by the people and why it has to depend on military strength and on the support of mentors on the other side of the ocean.

We thus see that the U.S. administration's policy on Pakistan is increasingly turning this country into a source of tension in this part of the world, that this policy is harming the basic interests of the Pakistani people, and that it is creating a threat for the independence and sovereignty of neighboring countries as well as for peace in Asia and throughout the world.

CSO: 4640/197

INTERNATIONAL

U.S., NATO MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN CRITICIZED

Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by KRSNAYA ZVEZDA international observer V. Vinogradov: "Washington's Bridgehead in Pakistan"]

[Text] The ceremony was filled with pomp: generals' uniforms, an honor guard, a military band, all the proper speeches. This was how Pakistan's military regime marked the creation at the Sargodha military air base of an aviation unit consisting entirely of U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers. The rulers in Islamabad had been trying for a long time to get hold of this offensive weapons, and now they had done it...

That ceremony at Sargodha took place 4 months ago, and just recently it was repeated almost exactly. With pride the Pakistani military leaders demonstrated this unit to a highly placed emissary from the Pentagon--chairman of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff General Vessey. But it is quite understandable that the visitor from across the ocean did not make the journey just to have another look at the U.S.-made aircraft, now carrying Pakistani markings. No, the purpose of his visit was quite important. During the course of his meetings in Pakistan General Vessey discussed questions concerning the further deepening of bilateral military cooperation, primarily increased arms deliveries.

For Pakistan is one of the major recipients of U.S. military equipment. And how! Suffice it to say that within the framework of a deal worth a total of \$3.5 billion, over the past few years Islamabad's arsenals have been filled with the most up-to-date weapons. These deliveries include not only the F-16 aircraft, but also missiles, tanks and armored vehicles, warships and artillery systems.

The United States has also involved its NATO allies in the dangerous process of the militarization of Pakistan. The Netherlands has sent it a batch of Fokker ground-attack aircraft equipped with missiles; Britain has sent Sea Wolf antiship missiles and the latest Plessey-996 radar equipment; France has sent Mirage military aircraft. And new deliveries of weapons, on which agreement has already been reached, are in the pipeline. Pakistan will receive from the United States 20 Cobra combat helicopters and E-2C aircraft equipped with the Hawkeye long-range radar system; from Britain and the FRG it will receive several missile ships. Meanwhile, Washington has approved the sale

to the Pakistani navy of a virtually unlimited quantity of the U.S. Harpoon ship-borne missiles. We see that the list of weapons already received by Pakistan and planned for delivery is extremely long. Notwithstanding, while in Islamabad General Vessey held talks about further expansion. It is a matter, in particular, of giving the Pakistani air force aircraft like the F-15 fighter-interdictor.

Naturally the question arises as to why Washington is literally "pouring" the most up-to-date weaponry into that country. The answer must be sought in the plans that the U.S. imperialists are hatching for south and southwest Asia and the role that they are assigning to Pakistan in the realization of these plans.

It should be remembered that with the fall of the pro-U.S. regime of the shah in Iran the United States was left with virtually no bridgehead in southwest Asia. But how, they argued in Washington, is it possible to be left with no "American supervision" over such an extensive and strategically important region? And the United States hurriedly began to build up its naval presence in the Indian Ocean, converting the base on the island of Diego Garcia into a powerful strongpoint. The construction of military bases was started in Oman, Kenya and Somalia, that could be used as jumping-off points in the event of the dispatch there of the interventionist rapid deployment forces. And these 200,000-strong forces themselves would, in the words of Pentagon chief Weinberger, be "automatically" sent to this region. Then a special U.S. Special Central Command (Centcom) was set up. The sphere of its activities covers the territory of 19 states in southwest Asia, and also east Africa. By asserting its military presence in the region the United States is taking aim at extensive regions of the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf.

In order to threaten Iran, expand the scale of the undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan and blackmail India, U.S. strategists have decided to "open up" Pakistan and take advantage of its geographic position. The stream of U.S. weapons pouring into Pakistan has given the Pentagon access to Pakistan's naval bases. The Pentagon has also received permission to set up electronic tracking stations in Pakistan to collect intelligence information, and also strategic military reserves to support the rapid deployment force.

There is no doubt that the United States knows what it is doing by passing all kinds of new batches of offensive weapons to Pakistan. The experience of past decades shows that Pakistan has already three times fanned the flames of conflict on the south Asian subcontinent. And this time it also serves the interests of the United States. India's peace-loving policy acts as a barrier against the realization of U.S. imperialism's hegemonic plans in south Asia. Hence Washington's stake on a militarily "strong" Pakistan and the encouragement of its rulers' militarist ambitions.

There is concern in India about the militarist preparations in Pakistan, which exceed its defensive needs several times over. And this is quite understandable. The more so since the United States is resorting to various behind-the-scenes maneuvers so as to whip up Pakistan's hostile attitude toward neighboring India. One graphic example of this was a public statement made by the U.S. ambassador in Islamabad, Hinton. He provocatively announced that "the United

States would come to the aid of Pakistan" in the event that it were attacked by India. Simultaneously with this announcement, a press report appeared to the effect that President Reagan had sent a letter to General Zia-ul-Haq in which he proposed providing Pakistan with a U.S. "nuclear umbrella." "Incitement to war is the chief aim of U.S. policy" is how the Indian mass information media have commented on such U.S. actions.

And they are right. How else but because of this unprecedented military and political support from the United States is it possible to explain the fact that the Pakistani authorities decided to conduct the largest military exercises ever in the occupied part of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir? Five divisions and a large quantity of combat materiel, mostly U.S.-made, were involved. Moreover, during the course of this large-scale show of force the Pakistani military repeatedly carried out armed provocations against India. At the same time the Pakistani regime initiated an active anti-Indian campaign. The press, which is controlled by the military authorities, publishes any kind of fabrication, trying to present matters as though the two states are "on the brink of war."

Observers are also drawing attention to the fact that a special expeditionary corps 25,000 strong is also being created in Pakistan's armed forces. This is a Pakistani version of the U.S. rapid deployment force and in essence, like the U.S. punitive supercommand, is earmarked to carry out interventionist actions. A considerable proportion of its personnel have undergone special training, both in the United States itself and at U.S. bases in the region. Equipped exclusively with U.S. military equipment, the Pakistani corps is essentially subordinate to the U.S. command and "in the event of a crisis situation" will carry out combat operations in close cooperation with the rapid deployment force under Centcom.

But Pakistan also interests the United States for other reasons. It has been assigned to role of regional policeman, to suppress the national liberation movements in south and southwest Asia. This is precisely why it has been transformed into a center for state terrorism in this region, into one of the U.S. CIA's main bases. Here in Pakistan subversive operations are prepared against neighboring states and gangs of terrorists formed and equipped to carry out these operations.

For more than 6 years Pakistan has served as the main bridgehead from which U.S. imperialism and the forces of reaction have been waging an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. These facts are widely known. But it is useful to note Washington's desire to reinforce even more that activity of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries from Pakistani territory. In particular General Vessey spoke of this during the talks in Islamabad. Moreover, he visited one of the anti-Afghan bandit camps near Peshawar and, delivering a speech there, assured the Dushman that "the United States will also provide aid in the future."

It is not difficult to imagine what aims this "aid" will pursue. Each year the organizers of the undeclared war against the Afghan people spend hundreds of millions of dollars to conduct the war. This money is used to buy weapons for the bandits, and more than 100 special camps have been set up where the

terrorists are trained under the leadership of U.S., Pakistani and Egyptian instructors before being sent into Afghanistan. Moreover, the interference in Afghan affairs conducted from Pakistan's territory with the active support of the authorities, has recently markedly increased. The number of centers for the training of sabotage gangs is growing. At the same time the murky stream of lies and insinuations against the Soviet Union, designed to distort the true essence of its policy in Afghanistan and the aims of the limited contingent of Soviet troops present there, is swelling.

The peace-loving initiatives that Kabul has repeatedly put forward are opening up a realistic path to the normalization of the Afghan situation. But it is precisely this that is not to the liking of imperialist circles, which are deliberately exacerbating the situation in southwest and south Asia. And Pakistan is doing its bit in these dangerous actions. According to a Bakhtar agency report, the Islamabad regime, with the support of the administration in Washington, intends to embark on a practical realization of the threats against Afghanistan. Thus, the Pakistani minister of foreign affairs Yaqub Khan recently announced directly that Islamabad is prepared to invade targets on Afghan territory.

Finally, attention should be drawn to yet another aspect of U.S.-Pakistani military cooperation. According to the Indian weekly LINK, the military regime in Islamabad and its patrons from across the ocean, complicating the Afghanistan situation in any way possible, are counting on finding a justification for the plan being hatched by the Pentagon to deploy U.S. Pershing-2 first-strike nuclear missiles on Pakistan's territory. Thus, yet another of Washington's sinister plans becomes clear: to deploy its own Pershings close to the southern borders of the USSR.

It is impossible not to see that in this region, as in many others also, in trying to assert its hegemony, the United States is relying on an antipopular regime. Of course, Pakistan's favorable geographic position and its readiness to force through militarization have also played a role in Washington's decision to make its stake on that country. But the readiness of Islamabad's rulers to become a champion of U.S. policy in south and southwest Asia and with the aid of cruel repression to suppress the acts of its own opponents within the country, have also played a role here, and by no means a minor one. The unpopularity of the present regime in Pakistan, which relies solely on military force and support from its patron across the ocean, is, therefore, quite understandable. Major actions by the workers have forced the regime to maneuver. The regime's boss has repeatedly promised to hold general elections, but when the date approaches they are always postponed. Under the slogan of the Islamization of the life of society General Zia-ul-Haq is trying to prevent the restoration of democratic standards and maintain power in any way possible.

No kind of contrivance, however, can hide the fact that Islamabad is following in the wake of Washington's aggressive and adventurist policy and pursuing a course of the militarization of the country and acting as an accomplice in U.S. interference in the affairs of neighboring states. All this proves that Pakistan has been transformed into a source of tension in south and southwest Asia and that this is in the interests neither of the Pakistani people themselves nor of the other peoples living there.

INTERNATIONAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA NO 10, 1984

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 84 p 1

[Text] CONTENTS

G. Kim. The Arms Race and the Developing Countries.....	2
Ye. Plotnikov. Southeast Asia. For Peace and Stability in the Region.....	6
L. Chernorutskaya. A Real Alternative to 'North-South' Dialogue.....	9
Leading Center of Soviet African Studies.....	12

APPROACHING THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORY

Haji Murat Ibragimbeili. The Failure of Hitler's Plans To Enslave the Eastern Countries.....	16
---	----

CURRENT REPORTS

S. Maksimov. Lebanon. Unsubdued 'Alayh.....	20
---	----

ISSUES AND OPINIONS

A. Dinkevich. Economic Neocolonialism: Current Advances.....	22
Focus on Mozambique.....	26

SOCIOLOGICAL COMMENTS

V. Belokrenitskiy. The Urban Informal Sector in the Eastern Countries.....	27
---	----

TRIPS, MEETINGS, IMPRESSIONS

A. Sirotenko. Afghanistan. Born of the Revolution.....	31
Yu. Prolomov. Nigeria. City by the Lagoon.....	35
A. Ganiyev. Madagascar. Lemurs.....	37

RESPONSES TO READERS' REQUESTS

A. Sarzhin. Turkey's Trade with the Islamic Countries.....	39
EVENTS...FIGURES...FACTS...	42
CULTURE, LITERATURE, ART	
N. Diko. Legacy of N. K. Roerich.....	46
K. Moiseyeva. Egypt. Hamdi Selam.....	48
Amikam (Israel). Jobnik. A Short Story.....	51
Ye. Negmatullayeva. Lunar Symbolism.....	53
REVIEWS, SURVEYS	
Ye. Bragina. Industrial Women's Labor in Developing Countries.....	54
I. Ivanov. Enclaves of Colonialism--Bridgeheads for Aggression.....	57
PAGES FROM HISTORY	
M. Krutikhin. Iran. From the Lives of the Qajar Shahs.....	58
Kaleidoscope.....	60
IN THE WORLD OF BOOKS	
A. Rogozhin. Transnational Corporations and Developing Countries: Regional Aspect.....	62
O. Kovtunovich. Imperialism's Weapon.....	62
V. Shitov. In Search of an Escape from the Crisis.....	63

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1984
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

8588

CSO: 1807/117

INTERNATIONAL

ASEAN, U.S. SEEN AS HINDERING SOUTHEAST ASIA 'NORMALIZATION'

Moscow APN Daily Review in English 25 Oct 84 pp 1-2

[Article under rubric "Scanning Periodicals": "Review of Journal AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 10, 1984"]

[Excerpt] The October issue of the journal carries an article "South-East Asia. For Peace and Stability in the Region" by Y. Plotnikov. The author notes that the understanding of the fact that establishment and development of a dialogue on a constructive and mutually acceptable basis is the sole reasonable way to settle the issues existing in South-East Asia has been ripening in the realistically minded quarters of the ASEAN countries. The initiatives of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea create favorable conditions for such a dialogue but, regrettably, those whom they are addressed to not always pay proper attention to them.

Many new obstacles in the way of normalization of the situation in South-East Asia have been raised by the external forces and by the local opponents of a dialogue, Y. Plotnikov goes on to say. Fuelling the extremist sentiments among Thailand's military, Washington has announced new sizable supplies of American weapons to Bangkok. The occupation of three border villages of the LPDR by the Thai troops in early June convincingly showed the purpose of these U.S. arms supplies. This occupation was a gross violation of the elementary rules of international law, which followed a visit of the commander-in-chief of the Thai armed forces to China. Proceeding from the interests of peace and stability in the region, at the 9th conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs held in Vientiane on July 2 the three countries of Indochina expressed their willingness to settle all the issues with Thailand through talks, and called upon the ASEAN member-states to begin a dialogue without delay on the basis of the proposals advanced by the two sides earlier, in the spirit of equality and mutual respect.

But these constructive proposals were ignored at the conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries held in Jakarta in August. Of clearly provocative character were the joint U.S.-Thai naval maneuvers Cobra Gold-84 staged in the Gulf of Siam.

So, as a result of the actions of the external reactionary forces and of the quarters in the ASEAN member-countries which are linked with them, South-East

Asia is again at the cross-roads. The author draws a conclusion that the tendency to confrontation in the region and to turning ASEAN into a military political bloc, into imperialism's "cordon sanitaire" against the countries of Indochina has again gained the upper hand. But it is to be hoped that the current heightening of tension is only a temporary obstacle to peace and stability in South-East Asia, Y. Plotnikov writes. The results of the meeting of the ASEAN Standing Committee which was held in Kuala Lumpur in September and the participants in which reached an accord in principle to declare the region a zone free from nuclear weapons, in particular, give grounds to such a hope.

CSO: 1812/77-E

INTERNATIONAL

ALTERNATIVE TO NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE VIEWED

Moscow APN Daily Review in English 25 Oct 84 pp 2-3

[Article under rubric "Scanning Periodicals": "Review of Journal AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 10, 1984"]

[Excerpt] L. Chernorutskaya contributes an article, "Real Alternative to North-South Dialogue." The newly-free countries, she notes, because of their growing disappointment with the sterile North-South dialogue, are stepping up the search for a way out of their deadlocked economic relations with imperialist centres.

The newly-free countries' desire to promote economic and political links between themselves forms a kind of alternative to the North-South dialogue at the current stage of their struggle for more democratic international relations in economics. Broader economic cooperation between the developing nations is certainly a promising trend in their external economic policies and paves the way for the adoption of the concept of "collective self-sufficiency in development."

At the same time, the author goes on to say, the developing countries point to the just and mutually beneficial nature of economic ties with the USSR and other socialist countries and to the fact that these relations are an example of the new international economic order in practice. A major distinguishing feature of the economic ties between countries of the socialist community and the young states is all-round assistance given to them in establishing their public sectors which are the backbone of independent economies and an effective protection against the self-seeking transnational corporations.

In the next few decades, the author thinks, the social and political aspects of international economic ties will come to the fore and will intensify anti-capitalist and socialist trends in the national liberation movement. In these conditions, Chernorutskaya sums up, it is well, both theoretically and practically, to regard the developing countries' struggle for a new international economic order as a major component of the historical restructuring of world economic relations on a democratic and equitable basis, a restructuring that is feasible only with the direct participation and initiative of the socialist community of countries.

INTERNATIONAL

WORK OF AFRICA INSTITUTE REVIEWED ON 25TH ANNIVERSARY

Moscow APN Daily Review in English 25 Oct 84 pp 3-4

[Article under rubric "Scanning Periodicals": "Review of Journal AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 10, 1984"]

[Excerpt] An article, "Leading Centre of Soviet African Studies," is devoted to the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences. The Institute, notes the article, has now grown into a major research body known both in the Soviet Union and internationally.

It has a staff of 200 researchers, including 21 doctors and 114 candidates of science. Among Africans who took post-graduate courses and defended their dissertations here were prominent political leaders of the continent, in particular Peter Ono, now Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, ministers and top functionaries of ruling parties, university rectors, and others.

Over 600 books and pamphlets and thousands of articles, including in the magazine AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA and NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, which are the Institute's publications and enjoy a wide readership abroad, have been written and published in the Institute's 25 years of existence.

The Africa Institute has in this period made a great contribution to the work of such public organisations as the Soviet Association of Friendship with African Countries (of which the Institute is a corporate member and the Institute's director An. A. Gromyko its President), the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, the USSR Committee of Youth Organisations, the All-Union Znaniye Society, the Committee of Soviet Scientists against Nuclear Threat, and others.

Now at their intellectual peak, the article concludes, the Institute's staff seek to advance further the standards of their work, to broaden and deepen their studies, to make them serve practical ends, and to consolidate Soviet-African relations for the good of peace all over the world, which has been proclaimed the supreme goal of Soviet foreign policy.

CSO: 1812/77-E

INTERNATIONAL

KIM ON CONSEQUENCES OF ARMS RACE IN THIRD WORLD

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 84 pp 2-5

[Article by G. Kim, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences:
"The Arms Race and the Developing Countries"]

[Text] There is no need to prove that the escalation of confrontation and the arms race on the global and regional levels are destabilizing the entire international situation and increasing the danger of thermonuclear conflict. This is obvious. The reliance on military force in international relations and the growth of militarism are increasing the probability of global thermonuclear catastrophe and are impeding progress in general, having a particularly negative effect on the socioeconomic development of newly liberated countries.

Now that the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are considering grand-scale economic reforms to eradicate underdevelopment, poverty, hunger and disease, the establishment of a normal climate in international relations, which would allow them to concentrate on the resolution of these problems, is of primary importance to the young states.

The involvement of newly liberated countries in the system of contemporary international relations with all of their negative consequences resulting from factors promoting confrontation and working against detente, however, is jeopardizing the ability of young states to carry out their development programs.

According to the statistics of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), military expenditures on our planet reached the colossal figure of 750 billion dollars in 1982.¹ This is approximately 23 times as high as the figure for the 1930's. Since 1978 world military expenditures have been rising by an average of 4 percent a year, far exceeding the growth rate of the world capitalist economy (1.5 percent). Without going into many aspects of the arms race in today's world, we want to examine the effect of this process on the status of the developing countries.

The events of recent years have shown that the mounting arms race on the global level is involving the newly liberated countries directly in a common process of militarization, is largely to blame for the start of arms "mini-races" and is creating dangerous seats of tension between these countries and thereby

exacerbating the international situation even more. In this sense, we are firmly convinced that the atmosphere of anti-detente of the late 1970's considerably augmented the negative impact of the global arms race on militarization processes in the developing countries.

It was precisely during these years that the United States made the strategy of "direct confrontation" with the Soviet Union on the global and regional levels the basis of its foreign policy line and began to see any social or political demonstrations in the developing countries and the liberation struggle as the result of "USSR intrigues" which were posing a threat to the United States' so-called vital interests. Giving the "defense of national or vital interests" its own interpretation, the U.S. administration has essentially used the situation in the developing countries to attain its own geopolitical goals and to change the balance of power in its own favor.

As we know, the U.S. move from the policy of detente to intensive confrontation was officially blamed on the "unfavorable" changes that had occurred in the developing countries, allegedly through the fault of the Soviet Union, which was supposedly using detente in the 1970's for the attainment of its own goals. There is no need for a detailed discussion of Washington's absurd and obviously false opinion of processes occurring in the so-called Third World. Something else is important here: The American strategy of "direct confrontation" in Asia, Africa and Latin America and on the seas and oceans has led to the dramatic expansion of conflict zones, the exacerbation of conflicts, the considerable acceleration of the arms race and the involvement of more and more new countries and regions of the developing world in this race.

The combination of all this has created the kind of situation in the Asian, African and Latin American countries in which the connection between overall Western strategy and the global arms race with local conflicts and arms "mini-races" has become much more perceptible, has intensified the already serious instability of international relations and has strengthened its extremely negative effect on the developing countries. Between the end of World War II and 1982, there were almost 150 local armed conflicts in the world, and more than 10 million people died in these conflicts. Around 50 of these are going on at the present time, and all of them are concentrated in the zone of the national liberation movement. There is no need to prove that these seats of tension are extremely harmful to the developing states. According to the most modest estimates, the Iran-Iraq war alone has already cost hundreds of thousands of human lives and it is still going on.

For the newly liberated countries, anti-detente means their closer involvement in conflicts and a dramatic increase in their military expenditures. They rose from 27.8 billion dollars in 1970 to over 125 billion in 1982.² By 1982 the developing countries accounted for 16 percent of all world military expenditures (as compared to 7.2 percent in 1970), and in terms of the proportion accounted for by these expenditures in the GNP (5.9 percent) the developing world is ahead of the developed countries. The armies of the young states number 15 million, or 60 percent of all servicemen in the world. These countries now account for around 75 percent of all world arms imports.³

The largest weapon stockpiles are located in the most explosive regions. According to SIPRI data, between 1978 and 1982 military expenditures increased by 18 billion dollars in the Middle East, 12 billion in the Far East (excluding China), 8 billion in southern Africa and 7.5 billion in Latin America. In other words, military expenditures in the most explosive regions increased by 50 billion dollars within 5 years.⁴

Unfortunately, the mechanism for the expansion of the arms race in the developing countries is still the same: New arms purchases by some states lead almost automatically to similar purchases by neighboring countries. This is a chain reaction of permanent expansion, the continuous augmentation of military stockpiles and a kind of competition for the constant quantitative increase and qualitative improvement of weapon stockpiles. Many peaceful, genuinely nonaligned countries are so worried about their own security that they must also seek alternative sources of weapons and allocate part of their already meager resources for military needs. For example, Indian leaders have stated that the large shipments of American weapons to Pakistan are a destabilizing factor in South Asia. "These shipments," former President Reddy of India said, "could disrupt the existing balance and start an arms race."⁵ As a result, India had to conclude an agreement with France on the delivery of 150 Mirage-2000 planes⁶ and take other steps to strengthen its own defensive capabilities.

Some Western researchers are inclined to underestimate the danger of the arms "mini-races" in the newly liberated countries with references to their relatively low proportional military expenditures. It is obvious, however, that even 1 percent of all world military expenditures means much more to these states, with their underdevelopment, poverty and hunger, than to industrially developed states. The use of this same 1 percent (which amounted, incidentally, to around 7 billion dollars in 1982) for peaceful purposes could give the people of these countries considerable additional opportunities to solve their most urgent economic and social problems. Besides this, another argument used to support this view is the allegation that these states are stockpiling conventional weapons, and not nuclear arms, and that this should not seriously disturb the world public. Obviously, nothing is said about the fact that the line separating conventional weapons from tactical nuclear arms is now being eradicated.

These "conventional" weapons destroyed more technical equipment in just a few days of war in the Middle East in 1973 than in weeks of large-scale operations in World War II. Concrete-piercing and pellet bombs were used in the Middle East, the former for the destruction of hardened targets, and the latter for the mass destruction of personnel. In addition, antiradar guided missiles, the latest reconnaissance equipment and other new military equipment were used in the Middle East. In 1982 the American aerial "overpressure" or "vacuum" bomb was used for the first time in Lebanon, as well as projectiles and bombs with a bearing or phosphorus "filling."

Therefore, recent events have proved that conventional weapons have essentially become "near-nuclear" weapons. In other words, their destructive force is approximately equal to the force of tactical nuclear warheads.

The escalation of the arms race in the developing world and the mounting confrontation between various countries have created a new grave danger--the possibility that some newly liberated states will acquire nuclear weapons. According to the data of the Brookings Institution (United States), around 15 developing countries could begin producing nuclear weapons within the near future.⁷ States with aggressive designs on their neighbors are the closest to the acquisition of these weapons. If they should acquire them, this will undermine the nonproliferation framework. This would compound the danger of nuclear war. Consequently, the world community has no reason to feel complacent about the arms "mini-races" in the developing countries.

Arms purchases are placing a heavy burden on the state budget of many newly liberated countries and are increasing the deficit in their balance of payments. All of this is obvious. By 1978 arms expenditures already accounted for around half of the deficit in current payments. In the future the expenditures of the developing countries will rise quickly and continuously. This tendency appears particularly dangerous in view of the recent IBRD prediction that the deficit in the balance of payments of developing countries will exceed 276 billion dollars in 1995. In 1983 the foreign debt of the developing countries reached the astronomical figure of almost 700 billion dollars.

Some researchers maintain that military spending does not have a serious negative effect on economic growth rates or the development of the social infrastructure in the newly liberated countries. These researchers base their conclusions only on total military expenditures and often ignore the deeper economic and social consequences of the military preparations that are radically distorting development priorities.

It is known that the military expenditures of young states contain a much larger element of "lost opportunities" than the expenditures of developed countries. There is a strong and obvious tendency: The less developed the young state's economic base is, the heavier the burden of formally unequal (in relation to the GNP) military expenditures will be and the stronger their pernicious effect on the national economy will be, because military spending in this case is accomplished at the expense of the already low relative accumulations. The developing country's own military construction intensified disparities in its economy and deforms its socioeconomic structure.

The purchasers of weapons are often the poorest countries in the world, which have an urgent need to solve pressing economic and social problems. It has been estimated, for example, that each dollar they spend on military purposes reduces investments in the national economy by 25 cents. Although the newly liberated countries are spending around 6 percent of their GNP on military needs, they are spending only 1 percent on public health services and 2.8 percent on education.⁸

Growing more and more involved in overall militarist processes, several developing countries have begun to establish their own military industry. According to the estimates of SIPRI experts, it already exists in a minimum of 30 newly liberated countries. Airplanes are now produced in 16 of them, combat vessels in 20, missiles in 8, tanks and armored personnel carriers in 5, etc.⁹

Some Western analysts and researchers in the developing countries believe that the establishment of a military industry in the developing countries is closely related to the use of advanced technology in their economy and that it will thereby promote scientific and technical progress in these countries.

These allegations are far from the truth. The establishment of military production in some developing countries has proved that the general underdevelopment of their industrial base necessitates the concentration of capital in military sectors, the establishment of enterprises with a high scientific input and the attraction of the most highly skilled manpower to these sectors at the expense of civilian production. This tends to create two separate industrial levels: a higher military level and a lower civilian level. All of this leads to the isolation and alienation of military sectors, their autonomous functioning in the national economic system and the creation of a parasitical organism in the economy of the developing countries which survives by feeding off other economic sectors. The arguments that military sectors of production stimulate economic growth by promoting scientific and technical progress have no basis. In any case, the negative effect of military sectors on the economies of developing countries is much greater than the minimal positive contribution military industry is capable of making to the development of the young states.

By spending around 6 percent of their GNP on military needs, the newly liberated countries are lowering their economic growth rate by 1.6-2 percent.¹⁰ This is widening the economic gap between the industrial West and the developing countries. Per capita income was 22 times as great in the developed capitalist countries as in the developing states (excluding oil-producing countries) at the beginning of the 1980's. This gap is having an increasingly adverse effect on the overall climate of international relations.

The growth of weapon stockpiles and armed forces in the young states leads to colossal unproductive expenditures of labor resources. This applies primarily to the scarcest category--technical personnel. The technical level of weapons and of military equipment and ammunition is much higher than the technical level of civilian sectors. For this reason, the army and arms production attract the most capable and most highly trained workers, technicians and engineers, who are generally in short supply.

Some Western researchers still believe that military expenditures, especially those connected with the development of military industry, are an effective way of maintaining and increasing employment or at least of alleviating the consequences of unemployment. This is certainly not the case. Military expenditures do not help to reduce unemployment, but actually compound the employment problem.

It has been estimated that the expenditure of a billion dollars will provide jobs for around 75,000 people in the military industry or for 92,000 in transportation, 100,000 in construction, 139,000 in public health and 187,000 in education.¹¹

The maintenance of the current rate of military preparations in the developing countries will lead to economic stagnation in the young states, and it will be

an extremely difficult or even impossible task to emerge from this state and set out on the road of socioeconomic progress. The arms race in the newly liberated countries, as an extension and an element of the global arms race, is escalating international tension, and this is inflicting absolutely tangible economic losses on the developing countries. Conversely, the relaxation of economic tension results in economic advantages on the global and regional levels. It is precisely in the interaction of detente and development that the indivisibility of today's world and the common interest of all of the world's people in preventing a new world war and stopping the senseless and wasteful arms race can be seen most clearly.

This imperative of our day is becoming increasingly apparent to people in the developing countries, where the prevailing opinion until just recently was that issues of war and peace were not of primary importance to these countries, that they would affect primarily the developed states or even would affect only the great powers. But recent events have refuted these views by demonstrating that the escalation of international tension, given the current level of military equipment, will have a direct effect on all countries and all people.

The positive changes in the views of newly liberated countries were conclusively confirmed by the seventh conference of the heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi, where the defense of peace and the curtailment of the arms race were named the key foreign policy objectives of the developing countries. At the Sixth UNCTAD Session in June 1983 representatives from many developing countries stressed the connection between international security and the development of just international trade and economic cooperation. "The progress of all countries," Prime Minister I. Gandhi of India stated, "both developed and developing, will depend completely on world peace."

Although disarmament in itself cannot solve all of the socioeconomic problems of the newly liberated states, it could promote the revitalization of the particular spheres of the world economy in which many of the problems of these countries are rooted. The reduction of total military expenditures by 20 percent, according to UN experts, would not only satisfy the most urgent economic needs but would also considerably reduce the economic gap between the developed and developing countries.¹² This would provide additional resources for a significant increase in aid to the young states from industrial countries, not to mention the new opportunities connected with the reduction of the developing countries' own military budgets and the redistribution of these funds for economic and social purposes--opportunities to combat poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy.

In addition to these obvious socioeconomic benefits, disarmament would also have an exceptionally favorable psychological effect on relations between people by helping them realize their common interests. Then appeals for the joint resolution of global problems, including the socioeconomic backwardness of the developing world, would evoke a much more active response from all people on earth.

Real and specific measures to safeguard the security and peace of all people can be found in the proposals of the Soviet Union, other countries of the

socialist community and several developing states. They include the proposal on no first use of nuclear weapons, on a mutual American-Soviet nuclear freeze, on the conclusion of a nonaggression pact between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO countries, on a pledge not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries, on the support of the idea of creating zones of peace and nuclear-free zones, on the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form, on nuclear arms reductions to the point of their total elimination on the basis of mutuality and equivalent security, on the reduction of military budgets and many others. These measures are designed not only to limit the arms race on the global level but also to neutralize militarist tendencies in the developing world.

"Considering the fact that the growth of military spending is directly related to the escalation of the arms race," the 1983 political declaration of the Warsaw Pact states stresses, "conference participants are requesting the NATO countries to negotiate an agreement on no increases in military expenditures and on their subsequent percentage or absolute reduction.... The funds made available as a result of military spending cuts could be used for the purposes of economic and social development, including aid to the developing countries in this area." The same ideas can be found in the 5 March 1984 proposal of the Warsaw Pact states to the NATO states.

The joint initiatives to safeguard security in the Indian Ocean and to turn it into a zone of peace, which are being persistently promoted by India and other peaceful littoral states, or the steps to plan confidence-building measures in the Far East and to find an all-encompassing solution to the conflict in the Middle East, could be equally constructive. Mankind must now make a choice of unprecedented importance: People can either work together to find ways of alleviating international tension or the world can move full speed ahead toward a nuclear conflict. There is no third alternative.

FOOTNOTES

1. "SIPRI Yearbook 1983," p XL.
2. Ibid., p 161 (excluding the PRC, Egypt, South Africa and Israel).
3. F. Castro, "The World Economic and Social Crisis," Havana, 1983, pp 204, 207; "UNCTAD. Trade and Development Report, 1982," p 123; "SIPRI Yearbook 1981," pp 156-159.
4. "SIPRI Yearbook 1983," p 157.
5. TIME, 26 October 1981.
6. Ibid.
7. E. Lefever, "Nuclear Arms in the Third World. U.S. Policy Dilemma," Wash., Brookings Institution, 1979, p 23.

8. THE ECONOMIST, 19 February 1983, p 54; "IBRD. World Development Report," 1982, p 110.
9. JEUNE AFRIQUE, 15 July 1981, p 62.
10. Calculated according to UN Doc A (8469) Rev. 1, 1978, p 56.
11. DER SPIEGEL, 1981, No 36, p 42.
12. "Mir i razoruzheniye. Nauchnyye issledovaniya" [Peace and Disarmament. Scientific Research], Moscow, 1980, p 55.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1984
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

8588

CSO: 1807/117

INTERNATIONAL

CONTEMPORARY STAGE OF WESTERN ECONOMIC EXPANSION ANALYZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 84 pp 22-25

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Dinkevich: "Economic Neocolonialism: Current Advances"]

[Text] Important changes took place in the world capitalist economy in the past decade and at the beginning of the 1980's. The technological revolution served as the material basis for advances in its reproductive system. Science became a direct productive force, the scales of reproduction were expanded considerably and there were changes in its structural proportions. This was accompanied by the quicker concentration of production and capital and the development of super-sized international monopolies--transnational corporations (TNC's) and transnational banks (TNB's).

The period in question was marked by the exacerbation of contradictions in the capitalist economy, the outbreak of structural crises and the intensification of cyclical crises. In this atmosphere, the overaccumulation of fixed capital became much more pronounced and the problem of markets grew more acute. In 1982 and 1983 an average of 15-23 percent of all production capacities were unutilized. Besides this, the credit portion of social capital underwent disparate growth (corroborating the well-known natural law, established by Marxism, of the higher rate of its accumulation in comparison to real capital). The relative decline of overall economic growth rates and the flow of "petrodollars" into the West European market reinforced this tendency. Obviously, escalated inflation has a serious deflationary effect on the nominal quantity of monetary capital, perceptibly changing its correlation to real capital.

Great changes also took place on the periphery of the world capitalist economy (WCE). They were accompanied by the structural reorganization of the economies of newly liberated countries: Industrialization increased the proportion accounted for in the GNP by industrial production, including the processing sectors, raised the capital-labor ratio, augmented the productivity of social labor and intensified social division of labor, accompanied by the further development of commodity and money relations and the growth of the domestic market. The structure of exports was gradually diversified and included a high percentage of manufactured goods.

The state began to play a much more important role in the economy. Experience proved that expanded reproduction would be impossible without its active participation. At present, from 30 to 50 percent of the final social product, and even more in some cases, is put under the ownership and at the disposal of the state, primarily with the aid of redistributive machinery.

The modernization of the economic order was accompanied by the gradual decline of the importance of traditional structures, the growth of capitalist forms of economic management in the majority of developing countries and the reinforcement of the state and cooperative sectors in the national economy of socialist-oriented states.

The changes in the WCE necessitated considerable changes in imperialism's neocolonial policy, designed to keep the developing countries as the inferior, dependent and exploited part of this economy. Total exports of capital increased considerably (from 19 billion dollars in 1970 to 89 billion in 1980-- a 4.7-fold increase in current prices). Loan capital, including the cost of technology transfers and engineering services, represented 64.8 percent of all exported capital in 1981, direct investments accounted for 15.4 percent, technology transfers accounted for 12.3 percent, and engineering services accounted for 7.4 percent (as compared to respective figures of 38.6, 58.6, 0.1 and 0.4 in 1960). In other words, the export of loan capital became the main form of capital export. Whereas V. I. Lenin once described only French imperialism as usurious, now this definition applies to all world imperialism, which is distinguished primarily by this feature.*

Furthermore, official government development "aid" decreased to 35 percent of the exported capital, while private capital accounted for 65 percent of the total. And although official "aid" was extended on more preferential terms in the 1970's, the developing countries did not benefit much from it because the proportion accounted for by this aid in incoming external resources decreased in favor of credit and loans extended on commercial (market) or near-commercial terms, which were unquestionably more rigid.

Therefore, the capital of transnational banks and corporations took the dominant position in the structure of incoming resources. In general, the United States, England, Japan and the FRG account for around 84 percent of all direct private capital investments from capitalist states in the developing countries.

Obviously, various forms of capital export are closely related. For example, the extension of loans is generally connected with the export of equipment, technology transfers, the offer of consulting services, etc. Many loans are connected with purchases, and in this case the prices of the products are much higher than market prices. The percentage of "aid" completely or partially connected with purchases was 60 percent for U.S. aid, 61 percent for French aid, 53 percent for English aid and 54 percent for Japanese aid.

As mentioned above, transnational banks and corporations have become the main force for economic neocolonialism. The number of their branches in the

* V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 27, p 362.

developing countries increased from 7,000 to 21,000 over the past decade. Besides this, some young states have begun to establish their own TNC's ("mini-TNC's"), which are gradually expanding the network of their branches in other developing countries, primarily in the most underdeveloped. Therefore, the differentiation of the developing world on the scales of the WCE has replaced the two-level system (center and periphery) with a three-level one (center, more highly developed young countries, and less developed countries).

Great changes also took place in the spheres of the application of commercial capital. In addition to traditional investments in the extractive branches, capital investments in the processing industry grew. Within the framework of the reorganization of the industrial structure in the WCE, imperialist states and TNC's began to transfer some of their labor-intensive, material-intensive and "ecologically dirty" production units to the periphery. This promoted the further industrialization of the periphery, increased the percentage of finished manufactured goods in the commodity structure of its exports and included young states in the new system of international division of labor within the bounds of the WCE.

The policy of the TNC's with regard to the industrial structure in the WCE varies. It evolves and varies depending on the development level of peripheral countries and the specific features of industries. In particular, this is reflected in the correlation of capital-intensive and labor-intensive types of production in overseas branches of TNC's. Capital-intensive production units are characteristic of the extractive industry and some industries geared to national markets, while labor-intensive units are primarily found in industries working for export. But this is not an absolute rule because the TNC's in peripheral countries with a higher development level participate more extensively in the processing industry, show a greater interest in penetrating local markets and controlling them and, finally, invest much more in capital-intensive production units than in labor-intensive ones. In these cases, forms of expansion which do not include joint-stock undertakings are much more prevalent.

The Latin American countries are distinguished by the highest percentage of foreign commercial capital. The states of Southeast Asia rose to second place in the 1970's. Along with Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, they make up the group of so-called new industrialized countries and account for three-fourths of the developing world's total exports of finished manufactured goods.

The establishment of jointly owned companies began to be practiced to reduce commercial risks and to combat the tendency of newly liberated states to regulate the flow of foreign investments. Many developing and developed capitalist countries have concluded agreements on the terms of capital investments, including guarantees to safeguard investor interests. Although investments are generally not insured in full against the possibility of nationalization, the payment of full compensation is envisaged in this case. Zones of free enterprise have been developed in several countries, in which foreign investors are granted tax, currency and trade privileges as well as other benefits. Production in these zones is geared primarily to exports.

Cooperation with national capital, primarily big capital, which is monopolist by local standards, in the form of mixed companies is now viewed by the TNC's as an important condition for their continued functioning and expansion in the developing countries. This cooperation is one of the factors intensifying and accelerating monopolist processes on the periphery of the WCE.

New developments connected with the expansion of foreign capital also include the increased activity of small and medium-sized companies, backed up in many cases by large monopolist corporations. They operate in industries and spheres of the economy in which the TNC's have little interest, or in which they can react more quickly than the TNC's to changes in production and market conditions.

All of this attests to a tendency to seek forms of expansion that minimize commercial risk, preserve unchanged the neocolonial system of imperialist exploitation in the developing countries and strengthen the economic--and not only economic--attachment of the periphery to the imperialist centers.

Significant changes in the methods of economic neocolonialism are connected with the peculiar features of industrialization in the East, which is unparalleled in history because it is taking place on a much higher technical level under the influence of the technological revolution. As a result, although extensive factors still prevail in economic development, the role of intensive factors is growing. They accounted for around 10 percent in 1950-1965, they now account for around 25-27 percent, and by 1990 they could account for 36-38 percent, as compared to 60-70 percent in the industrial countries. In connection with this, the structure of accumulations on the periphery of the WCE is changing and so-called informational factors (skills, experience and knowledge) are becoming more important. In the developed capitalist countries they are equivalent to around 55-60 percent of investments in physical elements, or in fixed capital. This indicator is approximately 2-2.5 times as high as it is in the developing states, but the indicator in the latter is much higher than the Western indicator at the time of the industrial revolution and even at the end of the 19th century.

This has resulted in a new form of expansion--technological--connected with so-called technology transfers, primarily through TNC channels. This is increasing corresponding expenditures in the developing countries (they have now reached around 10-12 billion dollars, and indirect expenditures total 25-30 billion dollars) and is heightening their technological dependence. In many cases technology transfers are accompanied by the expansion of TNC positions because the firms purchasing foreign technology often pay for it with their own stock. The augmentation of intensive forms of growth and technology transfers have also made personnel training a more important method of imperialist expansion. Besides this, more than 100,000 foreign experts, mainly from Western states, work in the developing countries each year. Various services (engineering, managerial, etc.) and the contracting system are also being developed on a broad scale.

The changes in the machinery and forms of economic expansion by the imperialist powers have increased the proportion accounted for by interest on loans in the total profits of TNC's and TNB's (from 33.3 percent in 1970 to

50.4 percent in 1980), as well as that of payments for technology transfers (from 6.1 to 14.7 percent) and payments for engineering services (from 0.5 to 6 percent). The share of income earned from direct investments, on the other hand, has decreased (from 48.5 to 21.4 percent).

Imperialism's strategy on the periphery of the WCE is designed to meet the interests of transnational banks and companies. In the socialist-oriented states, imperialism is trying to gain stronger influence with the aid of credit, investments, technology transfers, etc. In other countries, developing along capitalist lines, expansion by the imperialist powers indisputably promotes the accelerated development of capitalism and the intensification of disparities and differences among these countries.

In general, foreign factors are indisputably much more important in the system of social reproduction on the WCE periphery. This is corroborated by several economic indicators. For example, the increased flow of foreign capital is accompanied by a higher percentage of foreign resources in accumulations. Without this, growth rates in developing countries would be lower. It is also significant that the majority of young states are able to balance their international accounts with the aid of imported foreign capital, including credit and loans. This can maintain their present growth rates, secure uninterrupted and somewhat balanced social reproduction and promote foreign economic ties between the centers and periphery of the WCE.

The flow of foreign capital has mediated the change in forms of capital. Despite the success of the policy of import substitution, the developing countries are covering 90 percent of their need for manufactured goods for personal use through their own national production, but only around 50-60 percent of their need for items used in production (machines and equipment). It is significant that this process interacts with the international redistribution of resources because traditional export goods still account for a high percentage of the exports of developing countries. Foreign currency revenues from their sales largely secured the young states' imports of machines and equipment, and this is cheaper than the manufacture of these items in national production units. As K. Marx noted, in this case a country with a lower level of productivity "gives away more embodied labor in natura than it receives, and nevertheless receives goods at a price lower than the cost of producing them itself."* The quality and reliability of items and the amount of time saved must also be taken into account. In other words, the policy of the capitalist monopolies perceptibly reduces the benefits of developing countries from participation in the system of international division of labor, but it does not abolish them: Otherwise, participation in this system would be meaningless.

It is also significant that the flow of foreign capital is also one of the conditions for the circulation of the portion of permanent capital represented by energy resources and raw materials and imported from abroad. Under the conditions of the structural crises and more severe cyclical crises and international inflation, the majority of young states cannot get along without

* K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 25, pt 1, p 260.

foreign financial resources to maintain their current growth rates and carry out national programs of economic development. Furthermore, the functioning of foreign capital and the programs of official aid promote the growth of the hired labor force in general and the skilled link in particular, although certainly within relatively limited bounds.

Therefore, increased exports of capital, primarily in the form of loans, are one of the conditions of the circulation of social capital and its expanded reproduction in the centers and the periphery of the WCE. It is significant, however, that this exacerbates all of the contradictions in this economic system.

At the same time, economic expansion by imperialist powers, TNB's and TNC's is seriously inhibiting socioeconomic development on the periphery of the WCE. It signifies the reproduction of exploitation, inequality and dependence. This is precisely why, despite the increased flow of foreign capital, it cannot aid in solving the fundamental problems of the young states and eliminate the economic, scientific and technical gap between them and the industrially developed countries. This was completely corroborated by the events of the 1980's, when the foreign indebtedness of developing countries reached the point of crisis. The deterioration of the conditions of foreign trade and the new protectionist policy of Western powers had an extremely adverse effect on the solvency of many developing countries. A higher percentage of new loans had to be used to pay off previous debts (the figure rose from 56.3 percent in 1972 to 92.7 percent in 1981), and in 1982 total payments exceeded incoming foreign financial resources by 17.8 percent.

Under these conditions, 26 states failed to make payments in 1983, and this year another 30 countries are expected to join them. The regulation of debts began to be negotiated.

Private banks began to limit credit to the developing world. The young states responded by demanding an increase in official development aid, and it is possible that it will account for a higher percentage of foreign financial resources. Demands were simultaneously made for much more lenient terms on new loans, and monetary problems became the central issue in the struggle for a new international economic order. The debt crisis and the economic recession in the WCE resulted in the unprecedented decline of growth rates on the periphery--from 4.6 percent in 1979 to 4.3 percent in 1980, 2.4 percent in 1981 and 0.9 percent in 1982.

These are the price and the terms of the unequal participation of these countries in the system of capitalist international division of labor.

Economic expansion by imperialist powers, TNB's and TNC's is exacerbating internal contradictions in the socioeconomic development of newly liberated states because it intensifies the lack of coordination in economic and social progress and creates additional conditions for the maintenance of a fragmented, dualist structure. Let us look at technology transfers and the situation in the employment sphere as an example.

In essence, the TNC's pay no attention to the difficulties and contradictions in the development of newly liberated countries in connection with the choice of technology, virtually ignore the question of so-called suitable technology, etc. Branches of TNC's in the young states employ only around 3.5 million people. This is not surprising in view of the self-seeking, imperialist nature of the policies of Western powers and Japan and of their TNB's and TNC's. Nevertheless, the developing countries cannot get along without foreign financial and other resources. Considering the complexity and scales of economic reconstruction, the relative shortage of internal accumulations and the unsatisfactory balance of payments in the majority of developing countries, their accelerated development will depend on increased foreign financial resources.

On the surface this situation resembles a vicious circle, but this is only on the surface. The crux of the problem consists in the conditions for the attraction and use of foreign resources. If a country uses foreign capital efficiently and uses part of its income for the repayment of debts, the recipient country will be able to use the rest of its income to augment total accumulations and effect quicker development even though total payments will increase. It is quite a different matter when the flow of incoming foreign capital is accompanied by payments in excess of this sum or equivalent to most of this sum.

This is not a simple problem, particularly since it cannot be judged from current data: After all, it is possible for debts to grow quickly for several years while the foundations are being laid for the avoidance of this kind of situation in the future, particularly when inflation reduces debts (debts in 1981 totaled 524 billion dollars in current prices, but only 180 billion in 1970 prices).

What is the solution? Judging only by the balance between incoming foreign resources and related payments, it appears that it is simply unprofitable for the developing countries to continue along these lines. Between 1971 and 1975 gross payments were equivalent to 65 percent of average annual incoming resources, between 1976 and 1980 the average was already 79 percent, and in 1981 (just as in 1980) payments far exceeded incoming resources.

But these data illustrate only part of the process of social reproduction, namely the functioning of the system of international accounts, and they therefore cannot serve as an accurate depiction of the entire process. Consequently, it would be more accurate to compare cost dynamics in foreign economic relations to the overall indicator of the automatic rise of capital value--that is, its increment.

Our calculations indicate that the portion of the gross product leaving the developing countries in 1970-1980 was equivalent to around 50 percent of the increment in the GDP on the average (of course, the great differences between countries and groups of countries and the changes in them during various stages of development were not taken into account here). This testifies that economic expansion by imperialist states, TNB's and TNC's costs the developing countries a great deal: The percentage accounted for by payments in the GDP

increment is greater than the proportion accounted for by foreign capital in accumulations. In other words, the exploitation norm is higher. Furthermore, foreign capital has recently had a more pronounced decelerating effect on economic development.

In the past decade the average annual GDP increment in the centers of the WCE was 2.8 times as high as on the periphery, and the per capita increment was 10.2 times as high. Furthermore, considering the fact that half of the increment was appropriated by foreign capital, the figures must be doubled. It is not surprising that the economic gap between these groups of countries is still growing.

The high rate of population growth in the developing states necessitates the allocation of an average of 45 percent of the GDP increment (in 1970-1980) for the maintenance of an extremely low standard of living. This left no way of securing the needs of expanded reproduction. And although it did take place in some countries, it was only because capital imports and foreign debts grew at a rapid rate simultaneously. In this way, they covered the deficits in their balance of payments and augmented their accumulations. In other words, this attests to the considerable dependence of the reproductive process in the periphery on imperialist centers. This was clearly demonstrated by the events of the 1980's when these debts reached the point of crisis. This is perfectly natural because the domination of the WCE by monopolist capital is incompatible with the eradication of underdevelopment, exploitation and dependence on its periphery. It has no interest in the complete and comprehensive reorganization of the economies of developing countries on a modern technological basis because this would undermine the economic bases of the monopolist domination of the WCE.

The export of foreign capital and the further development of monopolist and state-monopolist tendencies in several Asian and African countries could lead to the new exacerbation of conflicts within the WCE between its centers and its periphery. It must be said that the movement for a new international economic order, which is now at a standstill, is a reflection of one of the conflicts between the monopolist bourgeoisie of the imperialist powers and the growing bourgeoisie in the majority of developing countries over the proportional distribution of the part of the net product of developing countries which takes the form of profits or, more specifically, interest on loans and commercial income.

Nevertheless, the growth of capitalism in the majority of developing countries and its monopolist forms signify a tendency toward the closer alliance of the Eastern national bourgeoisie with Western monopolist capital, despite the serious conflicts between them. All of this proves that serious changes are taking place within the WCE, and that its inherent conflicts are unavoidable. In other words, the economic reconstruction of the periphery of the WCE on the basis of capitalism will be impossible in general.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1984

Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

8588

CSO: 1807/117

INTERNATIONAL

UNREGULATED ECONOMIC SECTOR OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES DESCRIBED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 84 pp 27-30

[Article by V. Belokrenitskiy, candidate of economic sciences: "Urban Informal Sector in the Eastern Countries"]

[Text] The term "informal sector" is a relatively recent one. It was first used in 1971 by English economist and sociologist K. Hart in a study of unemployment in Ghana. It was later used in an analysis of the same problem by an International Labor Organization mission in Kenya and was "taken up" by many scholars--experts on unemployment, poverty and indigence in the cities of the developing Asian, African and Latin American countries.

What is the reason for the "popularity" of the term, and how new was it for the non-Marxist sociology of the development of Third World countries? It must be said that the principle of dividing the urban economy in these countries and their entire national economic system into two sectors was firmly established by the 1960's, when the ideas of modernizing the traditional society and the belief in the coexistence of the so-called modern and traditional sectors became popular.

The vantage point "illuminating" duality as a characteristic feature of the economy of underdeveloped countries was also reflected in another pair of opposites: the organized and unorganized sectors. Whereas the first dichotomy appeared in African studies, the second is connected with studies of India, in which the term "unorganized" was used to describe the unaccepted sphere of credit and monetary operations and industrial and trade activity.¹

What was new about the approach proposed by K. Hart and by several other specialists (Englishman K. King, for example) consisted, therefore, not in the acknowledgement of the duality of the urban economy, but in a special view of this phenomenon, an investigation to determine what the informal sector was and to discern its basic features and its potential to solve the problems of unemployment, poverty and indigence. The results of specific studies conducted in large cities in several African countries were used by the authors of the theory of the urban informal sector to advance the belief that a constructive life is pursued, goods of material value are produced and socially useful services are performed in the outskirts of these cities, under conditions which seem extremely distressing and bleak to the outside observer. Furthermore, for the inhabitants of these outlying regions, most of whom have recently

moved from rural communities, life in the city is an improvement. Whereas they were unemployed in the country, they have found jobs in the city, their income has risen and they even have the prospect of climbing the ladder of social mobility.

It is not surprising that this approach quickly won the recognition and approval of international organizations concerned with the resolution of the urgent problems facing countries developing along capitalist lines. These are not only the International Labor Organization and specialized UN agencies, but also, of course, the World Bank (the IBRD), in the documents and research publications of which the formal-informal dichotomy underwent further development and clarification.²

The characteristics of the informal sector seem to offer some kind of escape from the difficult or even critical situation in the employment sphere of underdeveloped states, where unemployment was snowballing in the cities.³ After all, if informal employment was not at all imaginary, unproductive and unimportant, benefiting neither society nor the employed individual, this sector should be developed to the maximum, state policy should be changed, old prejudices had to be combated and the informal sector had to be extended credit and given organizational and "institutional" assistance.

The situation in this area of beliefs adopted and spread by leading international organizations was quite similar and, what is more, obviously directly related to the situation in the sphere of the ideas and recommendations about the future of urban ghettos and illegal (squatters') settlements. Whereas the governments of the developing countries tried at first to wage a battle, in the literal sense, against illegal temporary settlements within the city limits with the consent and approval of international organizations, and even went so far as to destroy these settlements, they later changed their approach to the ghetto problem when they realized the futility of these actions. It was deemed expedient to be tolerant of these settlements and to promote--or, in any case, not prevent--their survival and their "grafting" onto the city.

The theory of the urban informal sector has been employed most consistently and extensively by the ILO--or, more precisely, by its subdivisions involved in research projects connected with the "world employment program." One of the administrators of this program, S. V. Sethuraman, said that its main characteristic was its source of livelihood for the urban poor. It is distinguished from the formal sector by the following features: easy access, reliance on internal resources, the family form of business organization, its small scales, labor-intensive technology, occupation skills acquired outside the formal system of education, and an unregulated and competitive market.

Several specific features were defined to distinguish enterprises and institutions of the informal sector in the ILO research program. The main ones were: 10 or less employees; the majority of the staff self-employed rather than working for hire.

Studies conducted in the second half of the 1970's revealed the dimensions of the informal sector in different cities in the developing world. They

indicated that these dimensions could vary considerably. According to the data of nine studies (four in African cities, three in Asia and two in Latin America), informally employed individuals could account for 20-70 percent of all the employed. On the basis of these and several other deductions (some of which are presented in the table below), the authors of the article summarizing the results of the studies believed that the people in the informal sector account for 40-50 percent of the economically active population in the typical city in the developing countries.

Percentage of Persons Employed in Informal Sector
of Asian and North African Cities

<u>City</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Calcutta (India)	1971	40-50%
Ahmadabad (India)	1971	47%
Jakarta (Indonesia)	1976	45%
Colombo (Sri Lanka)	1971	19%
Cities in West Malaysia	1970	35%
Singapore	1970	23%
Cities in Thailand	1976	26%
Cities in Pakistan	1972	69%
Cities in Tunisia	1972	34%

Predictably, the studies established that the majority of people employed in the informal sector were "bosses" or independent workers, but they also unpredictably revealed little participation by members of their families (unpaid family labor). One of the reasons could be the composition of the sector, the prevalence of trade and services (that is, street merchants, cleaners, haulers, etc.) and the extremely small, and in some cities absolutely negligible, proportion accounted for by industry in the activities of this sector. It is indicative that in the latter—that is, in handicrafts and in repair and odd jobs (because these are essentially the only possibilities in the tiny enterprises categorized as part of the processing industry)—the average establishment is larger, and the head of the family is often joined by some other family member, but even in this case the owner often hires workers. Hired workers in the informal sector were mainly those who had not had permanent jobs for a long time and could not find them outside this sector.

In reference to the negligible participation by unpaid family members, the studies established another extremely important and directly related fact, namely the negligible employment of women. This attests to the limited opportunities and needs of cooperative family units. The first restriction is most probably connected with "cultural" factors (that is, the way of life, customs and moral standards of the country), and a second is connected with the situation in the labor market. A surplus of manpower makes it possible to hire help at half the price. The latter phrase is meant in more than just the figurative sense. According to the results of these studies, the wages of those employed in the informal sector were a fraction of the wages earned by

workers in the formal sector (and generally much lower than the minimum wage established by law).

As for the income of the owners of establishments, the situation here is not completely clear. The authors of the studies estimated their income primarily on the basis of the information they gathered on added value (income from production), which therefore included the salary the owners paid themselves and their profits. The amount of the "reinvested" surplus, or maintenance costs, generally remained unknown. In several cities and branches of the informal sector of some cities, the amount of added value indicates that the income of the owners of informal establishments is equivalent to the average wage of semiskilled factory and plant workers or petty employees. According to the authors of the "world employment program," this attests to the definite potential of the informal sector, its ability to "engender" income and give some urban inhabitants "productive employment." This is also attested to, in their opinion, by the low mobility of those employed in the informal sector, connected with their reluctance to leave this sphere of activity, and their relatively young average age.

Several studies--for example, one in Jakarta--even revealed the degree of job satisfaction in the informal sector: Two-thirds of the workers here were satisfied, but it is indicative that the degree of dissatisfaction rose along with the educational level of respondents. In general, in spite of the significant difference between the incomes of owners (particularly employer-owners) and hired workers, the studies proved that the informal sector is a refuge for the poor. The difference between the relative number of people employed in this sector and their relative wages can be estimated for several cities. For example, 45 percent of the employed people in Jakarta accounted for 30 percent of the total income of urban inhabitants, and the figures in Ahmadabad were 47 percent and 28 percent.

Not all of the poor and extremely poor (beggars), however, can find employment in this sector. The ILO program studies established that the "employment patterns" of members of poor families are more complex. The head of the family might be employed in the informal sector, while other family members work in the formal, state or private sector. Furthermore, the wages or salaries of unskilled or semiskilled workers in the formal sector might differ little from the income of those employed in the informal sector. By the same token, the composition of the inhabitants of ghettos and illegal temporary settlements is also complex. They do not belong completely to the informal sector. Some of them can be categorized as low-paid workers and employees.

The theory of the informal sector and its use as the key concept in the approach to the problems of unemployment, poverty and indigence in the developing countries were not unanimously accepted or approved in the developed and developing countries. The theory began to be criticized soon after it made its appearance, primarily by the so-called leftist radical wing of the Western academic community. The members of this group were most inclined to doubt the thesis about the equal status and independence of the informal sector and its "idyllic" coexistence with the formal sector. They believed that the formal sector exploited the informal one and that there was obvious discrimination

against the latter. Several authors stressed in this connection that the informal sector functioned under the conditions of a deformed market: The prices of whatever it bought were obviously inflated, and it had to sell its goods and services at discounted prices. Therefore, the formal sector gained most of the advantages from the existence of the informal sector. In particular, the offer of goods and services at low prices by the informal sector helps to lower the cost of the manpower used at enterprises of the formal sector and increases the profitability of capital investments by lowering overhead costs.

Another of the ideas questioned by the critics of the thesis of the informal sector was that jobs are easy to find in the informal sector and hard to find in the formal one. This statement was criticized as being too absolute. Of course, different demands are made on "applicants" in the two sectors. Studies of specific countries indicate, however, that the informal sector is often overcrowded with manpower and that there is fierce competition for jobs here. This is the case, for example, in small cities in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. In particular, the loading and unloading "business" has been monopolized there by small but cohesive associations uniting members of a single caste and, quite often, people from a single village. Membership in the associations requires an entire set of recommendations--from members of the association and of the caste and from fellow-villagers. The rural migrant's caste is an extremely important factor, although not the only one, determining his occupation in the city.

The following fact is connected with another statement by the supporters of the dichotomy of the formal and informal sectors which has been criticized, namely the prevalence of "formal" relations--that is, relations accepted by the state and society--in the formal sector, and of another kind of relationship, far removed from official standards and regulations, in the informal sector. The supporters of an alternative approach assert that covert, unofficial contacts and actions are widespread and significant in the formal sector, and in this sense it is only quasiformal. On the other hand, quasiformal relations are also widespread in the informal sector. For example, there is a fair amount of activity similar to union activity, a "cartelization" of such modern and completely "formal" procedures as elected leaders, a staff of "lobbyists" and others. Each of the aforementioned associations of loaders working in Tamil Nadu cities has its own president and secretary, acting as the "boss" and the "broker." The mixture and interaction of "formal" and "informal" relations give those who object to the study of two separate sectors in cities in the developing countries reason to also object to the excessively broad interpretation of the informal sector with the inclusion of spheres of covert intrigues, "money-laundering" operations, speculation and smuggling--that is, everything euphemistically termed the "parallel economy" in contemporary literature.

Denying the concept of the informal sector, its leftist radical critics propose an alternative approach to the same problems from the standpoint of the distinctive features of capitalist development and the place and role of small-scale commercial production in this development. Taking K. Marx' statements about the evolution of the petty commercial order during the course of capitalist development in the West as a point of departure, they analyze the

subordination of the sphere of small-scale production in the developing countries to the interests of capital.

In descriptions of the exact workings of the exploitation of petty commercial producers, some authors compare them to the peculiarities V. I. Lenin discovered in the development of capitalism in Russia. These attempts are made quite rarely, but the nature of relations in several minor trades in the developing states has many similarities to the Russian variety of "cottage industry" or is even a "repetition" of this form of development.

It is also significant that the comparisons frequently encountered in foreign literature of the dichotomous approach to the belief in the existence of a "continuum" of production methods are similar in some respects to the concept of the multistructured economy, including the urban economy in the developing countries. This concept has been thoroughly analyzed by Soviet researchers and has been employed for a long time in Soviet literature. In this connection, the tendency of the supporters of this theory to include the small-scale capitalist order as well as small-scale commercial production among the lowest orders is of special significance.⁴ Although the informal sector coincides most with small-scale commercial production, its existence and evolution would be difficult to imagine without relations and contacts with the neighboring higher stratum, the structure of small but completely capitalist enterprises. It is precisely complex interaction, competition on one side and intersupplementary behavior on the other, that constitutes the basis of the symbiosis of the lowest structures in the cities of Eastern developing countries that is sometimes contrasted directly to the dominant developed corporative-capitalist structure, frequently connected either directly or indirectly with the transnational corporate sector.

The practice of contrasting the lowest structures to the highest seems to be an extremely dangerous approach to the capitalist-oriented development of young states. The highest structures and the political superstructure reflecting the interests of the class forces dominating them try to avoid this kind of situation. For this purpose, they resort to various ways of subsidizing the small-scale commercial structure and of including it in the sphere of influence of developed capitalist orders through subcontracting institutions, the contract system and other forms. These goals are attained by private capitalist methods and with the aid of state-capitalist institutions. They are vividly reflected, for example, in the activity of various types of state corporations in small-scale industry through the encouragement of handicrafts, cottage industry, etc.

Concluding our discussion with another look at the theory of the urban informal sector, we must stress that it has been subjected to severe and largely accurate criticism even by Western researchers. The empirical data collected by the ILO and other organizations on the functioning of the lowest structures of the urban economy in the developing countries are of considerable interest, however, just as the information made available to the scientific community by the supporters of the other approach to the problems of urban unemployment and poverty.

It seems that confining the informal sector to the boundaries outlined by the studies conducted within the framework of the ILO "world employment program"

not only fails to provide an accurate picture of the dynamics of socioeconomic processes in urban societies in the East but also does not adequately reflect the specific features of their structure. Cities in the newly liberated Eastern countries include, in addition to the small-scale commercial structure (informal sector), the segment of small capitalist enterprises where labor productivity is low by today's standards, manual operations play an important role and obsolete equipment is used.

The small-scale commercial structure and this segment⁵ make up the sector of "traditional," pre-industrial productive forces, in contrast (given the existence of a "border belt" of economic units of the intermediate type) to the sector of "modern" industrial productive forces. This comparison is of special importance from the standpoint of prospects for economic growth, attesting to the possible deceleration of growth rates by a lack of economic integration. Incidentally, this feature is most significant on the nationwide level, as it is present only in "reduced" or "secondary" form in cities. As for the urban "traditional" sector, its definition plays a significant role in the analysis of the use of labor resources because it represents the most diverse combination of their chronic underutilization, the existence of covert and overt forms and the barbarous, "antideluvian" use of manpower, particularly the practice of wasting the resources of the child's organism and depriving people of opportunities for complete development.

The exploitation of children's labor can be permanent and sporadic. Child labor is widely used in the service sphere in the cities of densely populated Eastern countries. In the production sphere this exploitation sometimes takes extremely intensive forms, destroying the health of adolescents and children and keeping them from acquiring an education and an "adult" occupation. The threat of the reproduction of an inferior labor force not only arises in connection with a younger generation living in "deep" poverty; the temporary dramatic deterioration of the living conditions of the "middle" stratum of laborers under the influence of inflation or acute forms of unemployment also causes parents to take their children out of the schools and ask them to help in maintaining their customary standard of living.

The underutilization of manpower is also reflected in the low--and, in many countries, declining--norm of economic activity by the urban population. This is primarily due to the situation with regard to the employment of women. Women usually have much less opportunity to work in cities than in rural areas, primarily as a result of the nature of the "traditional" urban sector. It is almost a rule that a certain percentage of urban women will be idle. They do not work outside the home and they essentially do not keep house either. This applies not only women from wealthy families but also to extremely poor women, who often use the services of maids, especially in the Muslim countries, and send their children out to do the shopping.

In addition to alienation from all types of economic activity, as a covert form of underemployment, the obvious underutilization of labor resources is also growing more intense. This is apparent from the fact that people employed in the "traditional" sector would like to find additional work to escape poverty and their gloomy existence but cannot find jobs.

The combination of overt and covert forms of underemployment with unconcealed unemployment constitutes the general background of the current situation in cities in the majority of developing Eastern countries with their sharply contrasting wealth and poverty, effective and extremely ineffective social production, excessive exploitation of some laborers and the vegetative existence of others. It is no coincidence that these contrasts inspire descriptions using dichotomies. But the "dualism" should not conceal the main thing: the unity of the capitalist method of production and the contradictions organically inherent in it.

FOOTNOTES

1. If we do not confine our discussion to the direct "predecessors" of the dichotomy of the formal and informal sectors, we could mention, on the one hand, the firmly established tradition of employing dichotomies in Western sociology, including urban sociology--for example, Toennies' community and society, M. Weber's traditional and rational, Redfield's populist and urban--and, on the other, the dualist theories of the economic growth of underdeveloped countries, first proposed by W. A. Lewis. The "disintegration" of the urban sector and the tendency to point up its inclusion of an informal sector with a labor surplus in recent works by English and other authors, primarily experts on African affairs, most probably made their appearance in a "struggle" against Lewis' ideas about the dualism of the developing economy and its division into urban and rural sectors, amplified primarily with information about the African countries.
2. See the works by D. Mazumdar, S. Giesinger and others.
3. The scales of the crisis and its assessment by representatives of these international organizations can be judged from a work published by P. Bairoch in 1973, where the analytical model of ILO "world employment program" studies was first proposed. This author coined the term "urban super-unemployment," which clearly indicates his view of the scales of manpower underutilization. It is even more significant that he regarded urban "super-unemployment" as something "socially" more dangerous and less tolerable than rural "underemployment."
4. See, for example, A. I. Levkovskiy, "Sotsial'naya struktura razvivayushchikhsya stran" [The Social Structure of Developing Countries], Moscow, 1978, pp 93-109.
5. A number of Western authors have also discussed it as part of the tri-segmented urban structure of developing countries: the sector of individual economic units (corresponding to small-scale commercial production in the informal sector), the sector of family enterprises (sometimes defined as units employing 10-50 people) and the corporate sector.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1984
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

8588

CSO: 1807/117

INTERNATIONAL

TURKEY'S TRADE WITH ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 84 pp 39-41

[Article by A. Sarzhin]

[Text] One of Turkey's important measures to increase its exports has consisted in gaining access to the markets of Islamic countries. Its interest in them began to grow perceptibly by the late 1970's. It was then that Turkish exports to Islamic countries began to grow steadily and account for a higher percentage of total Turkish foreign trade. But the tendency reached its fullest development in the early 1980's.

Statistics for 1982 indicated that Iran already topped the list of importers of Turkish goods in terms of cost (791.1 million dollars, according to the figures of the Turkish State Statistical Institute). The FRG, which was the main importer of Turkish goods for several years, purchased 707.5 million dollars' worth and therefore had to move down to second place. The third and fourth places on the list were taken by Iraq and Saudi Arabia (610.4 million and 357.9 million -respectively). They were followed by Italy (327.5 million) and the United States (251.6 million). Iran remained the leading importer of Turkish products in 1983, purchasing almost a billion dollars' worth. According to officials, Turkish trade with this country should increase to 2.5 billion dollars in 1984, mainly from the exchange of Turkish manufactured goods for Iranian oil. The value of Turkish exports to Iraq in 1983 was around 600 million dollars. In other words, the high volume of trade between these two countries in 1982 was essentially maintained.

There are several reasons for the Islamic countries' heightened interest in imported Turkish goods. The main one is the tendency of Turkish export prices to lag behind world prices in recent years. This is graphically portrayed in Table 1.

Turkey's geographic proximity to the majority of Islamic countries is another important reason, particularly in cases involving deliveries of livestock and fresh produce, which account for a significant percentage of Turkish exports. On the other hand, this factor heightens the competitive potential of Turkish exports to these states due to the lower shipping costs. For example, the cost of transporting a ton of freight from Turkey to Europe by motor vehicle is at least 10 times as high on the average as the cost of making the same delivery to Iraq or Iran.

Table 1

Dynamics of World Export Cost Unit and Turkish Export Cost Unit
in 1979-1983 (1980 = 100)

<u>Cost units</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983*</u>
World	83.8	100.0	99.1	95.5	91.7
Turkish	84.5	100.0	88.6	82.8	74.0

* For January and February.

Finally, there is also the great importance the countries of this region have attached to the development of mutual trade, which they regard as one way of promoting the consolidation of the Islamic world.

Centrifugal tendencies, however, must also be taken into account. For example, according to Turkish economists, the country's exporters owe much of their success in Iraq and Iran to the prolonged armed conflict between these two states. It has had an adverse effect on their economies and has necessitated imports of a broad assortment of goods which Turkey has. Turkey has tried to maintain normal relations with both countries and has attempted, although without any success, to mediate the resolution of the conflict between them.*

The efforts of Turkish exporters have not been confined to Iran and Iraq, however, and have had the aim of rapidly conquering the markets of virtually all Islamic countries. As a result of this, for example, the value of Turkish exports to Saudi Arabia increased from 17.5 million dollars to 357.9 million between 1978 and 1982, and the figure was already 238.5 million during the first 9 months of 1983. The respective figures for Jordan were 19.5 million, 104.8 million and 67.7 million, and the figures for Kuwait were 16.3 million, 86.9 million and 57.7 million. Turkish exporters simultaneously entered absolutely new markets. Some examples are Abu Dhabi and Dubai, where Turkish goods began to be shipped in 1980.

The Turkish exporters' efforts to develop relations with Islamic countries, which imported only 6 million dollars' worth of Turkish goods in 1963, brought the figure up to almost 2 billion in 1981. Furthermore, these countries already accounted for 55 percent of all Turkish exports between January and October 1982, according to E. Akturk, the head of the Turkish State Planning Organization.

The Islamic countries' increasing share and the Western states' decreasing share of Turkish exports in the last few years are illustrated in Table 2.

The larger Islamic share of Turkish exports is also due to the deterioration of the conditions of Turkey's trade with the Western countries in the atmosphere of economic recession, which led to stronger protectionist measures.

* Former Turkish Prime Minister B. Uluşu, a member of the so-called goodwill mission, made several trips to Tehran and Baghdad for this purpose.

Table 2

Dynamics of Turkish Export Value
for 1978-1982

<u>Categories</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
Total value of exports (millions of dollars)	2288.2	2261.2	2910.1	4702.9	5746.0
To OECD countries (\$ millions)	1506.8	1441.4	1679.3	2263.8	2556.0
OECD share of total Turkish exports (%)	72.9	63.7	56.7	48.1	44.5
To EEC countries (\$ millions)	1090.1	1098.6	1242.1	1502.9	1755.4
EEC share of Turkish exports (%)	47.6	48.6	42.7	32.0	30.6
To Islamic countries (\$ millions)	258.1	409.4	654.9	1964.7	2691.9
Islamic share of Turkish exports (%)	11.3	18.1	22.5	41.8	46.9

Turkish Minister of State for Foreign Economic Relations R. Pasin made an extremely indicative statement to Turkey's DAILY NEWS when he commended the "special" trade relationship between Turkey and the Middle East, saying: "In contrast to this, the prospect on the Western front is quite gloomy. Our exports to the industrially developed Western countries in general, particularly the EEC, which is our main partner, are virtually in a state of depression. The stronger protectionism resulting from slow economic growth, high unemployment and the absence of the necessary reconstruction is having an adverse effect on our trade relations with these countries. The strong tendency of the Common Market to limit Turkish exports has a particularly pernicious effect on our trade and industry. We find the EEC attitude all the more distressing in view of the fact that Turkey is an associate member of the organization and hopes to eventually become a full member."

Here is what Turkish correspondent D. Taylan wrote: "Those who regard Turkey as part of Western Europe and want the country to be part of the EEC have complained bitterly for the last 10 years that Turkey's relations with the Common Market have been almost paralyzed."

It is quite natural that this makes the prospect of the further development of Turkish trade and economic relations with Islamic countries even more appealing. This development, in turn, is promoted by such factors as the accumulation of "petrodollars" by several Islamic countries, the acceptance of a broad assortment of Turkish goods, including manufactured items, in their markets and the heightened dependence of Turkey on imported oil from several of these countries.

The main Turkish exports to the countries of this region include livestock. The value of livestock exported to Islamic states rose almost 10-fold between 1979 and 1981--from 23.2 million dollars to 231.2 million. Exports of meat also increased almost 10-fold during this period--from 8.4 million to 80.5 million. Exports of cement increased more than 4.5-fold--from 38.6 million to 184 million. Farm produce still occupies an important place in Turkish

exports. The increased deliveries of produce to the Middle Eastern markets are particularly important in connection with the EEC's more cautious approach to imports of Turkish agricultural goods since the middle of the 1960's. In the 1970's the Common Market actually set quotas and seasonal restrictions on some of these products.

In contrast to this, the Islamic countries are eager to buy a variety of Turkish agricultural products. For example, in 1979 the Islamic countries already accounted for 45 percent of the oranges Turkey sent abroad, 55 percent of the grapes and almost 100 percent of the apples and early vegetables. The percentage of canned fruit and vegetables exported by Turkey, however, is still negligible. As for sales of grain, it must be said that there has been no significant increase in the area of these crops or rise in their yield in Turkey in recent years. Wheat fields, for example, even decreased from 9.3 million hectares to 9 million between 1975 and 1980. For these reasons, the value of grain exports to Islamic countries has not changed much. For example, the figure was 50.8 million dollars in 1979 and it rose only to 53.8 million in 1981.

The growth of Turkish exports of foodstuffs to Islamic countries has been accompanied by increased sales of manufactured goods to these countries. They accounted for more than 50 percent of total Turkish exports in 1981, and the figure had already reached 66.3 percent during the first 5 months of 1982. Furthermore, during the latter period there was a dramatic increase in sales of buses, tractors, vehicle tires, refrigerators and items made of plastic and glass.

Turkey's efforts to develop commercial relations with Islamic countries are due in large part to the fact that several of them, especially Iraq, Iran and Libya, as well as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, are its main suppliers of oil. Turkey has to import over 80 percent of all the oil it needs, and this product accounts for almost 90 percent of the cost of its imports from the Islamic countries. Other important items of Turkish imports from these countries are petroleum products, phosphates and phosphoric acid, ammonia, fertilizer, rice, jute, rubber and tin (Table 3).

It is indicative that whereas the deficit in Turkey's foreign trade with the OECD countries and the Islamic countries in 1980 was 1,904,100,000 dollars and 2,261,300,000 dollars respectively, the figures in 1981 were 2,015,700,000 dollars and 1,634,300,000 dollars, and the figures for the first 5 months of 1982 were 869 million and 435 million. This attests to a recent definite improvement in the state of Turkish trade with the Islamic countries, primarily as a result of the increase in Turkish exports to these countries. Turkey's share of their imports, however, is still relatively small. For example, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait allocated 38 billion dollars for the acquisition of manufactured goods in 1979, but Turkey accounted for only 80 million of the total.

In connection with this, it is significant that goods from Turkey have to compete in the Islamic markets with goods from the EEC countries, and this has made things particularly difficult for Turkish exporters, especially

during the period of cyclical recession. Turkey's efforts to continue increasing its shipments to Islamic countries have also been complicated by several other difficulties, primarily shipping problems. The Turkish leadership has assigned the same priority to the resolution of these problems as to power engineering. As a result of the shortage of maritime transport vessels, 72 percent of Turkey's imports and exports in 1981, with the exception of oil, were delivered on foreign ships, and this cost the country almost 800 million dollars. A long-range transport development plan in 1983-1993 was drawn up to solve the problem (and was approved in September 1982). It envisages the augmentation of the tonnage of the maritime fleet from 2.8 million to 7.4 million tons through the modernization of existing vessels, the acquisition of new ones, the tripling of the through capacity of ports, the construction and reconstruction of roads and the development of a railway transport system.

Table 3

Cost Dynamics of Turkish Imports
in 1978-1982

<u>Categories</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1983</u>
Total cost of imports (millions of dollars)	4599.0	5069.4	7667.3	8933.4	8784.4
From OECD countries (millions)	2791.1	3063.8	3583.4	4279.5	4434.2
OECD share of total Turkish imports (%)	60.7	60.4	46.7	47.9	50.8
From EEC countries (millions)	1872.6	1827.5	2203.1	2519.5	2466.3
EEC share of total Turkish imports (%)	40.7	36.1	28.7	28.2	28.2
From Islamic countries (millions)	1175.3	1124.5	3276.2	3599.0	3753.1
Islamic share of total Turkish imports (%)	25.6	22.8	42.7	40.3	43.0

The problems encountered by Turkish exporters include the difficulties of acquiring entry visas to some Islamic countries, which impede the organization and development of commercial contacts. Turkey took the first step in this direction by cancelling the entry visa requirements for some Persian Gulf countries and hopes that they will reciprocate. Commercial activity is also inhibited by the absence of direct telephone communications between Turkey and the countries of this region in many cases. Turkey's trade partners are not always satisfied with the quality of Turkish goods and their packaging. Another strike against Turkey is the inability of its industry to quickly master the production of new items.

We must not forget that Turkey entered the markets of the Islamic countries later than, for example, European, American, Japanese and South Korean exporters, who also had more experience and whose activity was more highly organized. All of these difficulties have been acknowledged by Turkish exporters, who are supported by business and industrial groups in the country.

most of the members of which realize the importance of increased exports to the Islamic states. It is also important that the markets of these states, whose import needs will rise, according to current estimates, 14 percent a year for the next few years, are fairly well organized and are already somewhat familiar to Turkish exporters. This, in turn, allows Turkish foreign trade firms to assess their capabilities realistically and to draw up lists of export goods with a view to current and future demand. According to Turkish exporters, the most promising goods Turkey could continue exporting to the countries of this region include fresh and canned fruit and vegetables in addition to livestock and meat. Deliveries of cement, chemicals, refrigerators and simple industrial equipment could also be increased.

Speaking at the opening ceremonies of the sixth meeting of the administrators of the Islamic Development Bank in Istanbul in June 1982, the head of the Turkish Government, K. Evren, declared that "Turkey is an integral part of the Islamic world." Statements like these have been reinforced by the fairly frequent meetings of Turkish leaders with the leaders of Islamic countries.

It is indicative that the development of trade and economic relations certainly does not occupy the last place on the program of these visits, and in some cases it tops the list. The Turkish press has been unanimous in its assessments of the results of negotiations, always noting the presence of complete mutual understanding on a broad range of questions connected with economic cooperation.

When the prospects for its development are being assessed, however, it must be borne in mind that the Islamic world, with its quite diverse political outlooks and levels of economic development, does not have a unanimous attitude toward Turkey. In many cases it is distinguished by a certain degree of caution, stemming from Turkey's continued strong political and economic dependence on the Western countries and its membership in NATO. This has kept the Turkish leadership from taking a completely consistent and principled stand on a broad range of issues of vital importance to the states of this region. In view of this, we should not disregard the worries expressed by representatives of some of these countries that Turkey is actually promoting the interests of the Western states in the region by pretending to serve as a "bridge between East and West." Nevertheless, the successful development of Turkish economic relations with the Islamic countries in recent years is quite evident, and this will certainly have a tremendous effect on the definition of its role in the regional structure and in the system of international economic relations in general.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1984
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

8588

CSO: 1807/117

INTERNATIONAL

FRENCH COLONIAL HOLD ON INDIAN OCEAN ISLANDS CRITICIZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 84 pp 57-58

[Article by I. Ivanov: "Enclaves of Colonialism--Bridgeheads for Aggression"]

[Text] The Indian Ocean islands east of the African continent are one of the regions where remnants of the West's once vast colonial empires still exist. These are the Chagos Islands, illegally seized from Mauritius by England, and the French-controlled islands of Mayotte, Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Bassas da India, Europa and Tromelin. Reunion's status as a "French overseas department" has not fooled many people in the region either. England and France are stubbornly holding on to these possessions, flagrantly disregarding the demands of the young states and the international community and the UN decisions on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

The rigid position taken by London and Paris, and supported by the United States, with regard to these islands stems from the geopolitical interests of international imperialism and the important strategic location of the colonial territories, which are located close to the main transport arteries in the Indian Ocean. According to Western strategists, the colonial status of the islands is most convenient for their unimpeded militarization, the establishment of new military bases and the modernization of existing bases, particularly now that this region has been arbitrarily declared a "sphere of U.S. vital interests." Going against the UN resolutions on decolonization, the Western powers have illegally divided the colonies, seizing part of their territory and establishing their own dominion over them.

Taking advantage of its status as a mother country, England took the Chagos Islands away from Mauritius, which was once a British colony, in 1965 and leased one of the islands, Diego Garcia, to the United States. This unconcealed annexation was contrary to the standards of international law, particularly UN Security Council resolutions 1514 and 2066 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

In the 1970's and early 1980's the United States turned Diego Garcia into a large central base for its bombers and submarines carrying nuclear weapons. The island is also becoming the main base of the American "rapid deployment force" in the Indian Ocean and the U.S. naval ships patrolling the Persian Gulf.

It is indicative that even when decolonization was being actively pursued throughout the world, the British Government tried to expand its colonial possessions in the subregion. In 1965 London suggested the creation of a British territory in the Indian Ocean, in which it intended to include the Chagos Islands and islands of the Seychelles Archipelago--Aldabra, Farquhar and Desroches.

The primary motives behind the plan were London's militarist ambitions. These islands form a broken line between India and Southeast Africa. By establishing military bases, England and the United States hoped to control vast regions of the Indian Ocean. They worked on this plan for more than 10 years, but the persistent struggle of the Seychellois, supported by the international community, kept the imperialists from dividing the Seychelles: In June 1976 they won their independence and became a republic.

Whereas England has retained only one colonial possession in the region, France is still hanging on to several islands with differing administrative statuses. Mayotte is a "territorial unit" of France. Plans for its separation from the Comoros were being drawn up in Paris as early as the late 1960's. In 1972, under the pressure of the national liberation movement, France had to hold a referendum on the future status of the islands. At that time Paris openly supported the pro-French Mayotte Popular Movement, which wanted the island to remain under French rule.

After the Comoros became independent in 1975, Paris refused to recognize the new state and left its colonial administration on Mayotte. Ignoring the demands of the international community, the colonial authorities held a second "referendum" on Mayotte in February 1976 and offered the island the status of a "territorial unit." As soon as Mayotte had been separated from the rest of the islands, Paris stationed a Foreign Legion subunit there. The most important sea lane in Southeast Africa, the Mozambique Channel, is controlled by a French military base here. The channel became even more important to the imperialist powers after the American satellite surveillance station on Madagascar and the French naval base in Diego Suarez (Antsirabe) were closed on the orders of the DRM Government in 1975, and the French air force base in Ivato, close to Antananarive, was closed a year earlier.

As the South African STAR reported at the beginning of 1984, France decided to establish a base on Mayotte and to make it the headquarters of the French armed forces in the Indian Ocean.

French military circles attach great importance to Reunion. Paris changed its status from "colony" to "overseas department" precisely for the purpose of retaining control over this strategically important island.

In 1978 the OAU Liberation Committee adopted a resolution demanding independence for Reunion. The position of independent Africa, however, was vehemently protested by Paris, which declared that it had "historical rights" to the island. The base on Reunion is one of the largest French military installations in the Indian Ocean. The Reunion Communist Party and other progressive forces are demanding that the island be granted "popular democratic autonomy" as the first step in decolonization.

Making use of its military installations close to the Indian Ocean island states and to the east coast of Africa, Paris is pressuring the countries in this region. The 2d Airborne Marine Regiment and Air Force Base 181 are located on Reunion, and Foreign Legion units are stationed on Mayotte. The same islands serve as convenient bases for French naval forces in the Indian Ocean.

Reunion, where the headquarters of the French armed service command in the southern Indian Ocean is located, has become Paris' main support point in this region. Besides this, according to reports in the Western press, the Pentagon has concluded an agreement with the French Government on the deployment of the Omega radar system, designed for the navigation of American submarines and strategic and tactical aircraft, in this same region.

Just before Madagascar won its independence in 1960, France separated it from the small islands of the Mozambique Channel--Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Bassas da India and Europa, as well as an island east of Madagascar, Tromelin. The prefect of Reunion was given the responsibility of governing them. Until 1960, however, France had repeatedly stressed the organic unity of Madagascar and these small islands. Now French military contingents are permanently stationed on the islands.

The African states in the Indian Ocean which have become the victims of colonial annexation are fighting to regain their sovereignty over the territories that were taken away from them. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar has put up the most vigorous fight against the remnants of colonialism on national territory. The DRM Government raised the issue of the Mozambique Channel islands at the sixth conference of heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries and at an OAU session as early as 1979. The republic's legitimate demands were supported in both cases. The nonaligned movement and the OAU felt that the islands should be returned to Madagascar. That same year the 34th Session of the UN General Assembly reaffirmed the DRM's right to the islands and asked France to return them to their legal owner.

Mauritius is fighting to regain its sovereignty over the Chagos Islands. In 1982 the parliament of this country passed a law stating that the islands, including the atoll of Diego Garcia, are an integral part of Mauritius. A parliamentary commission was set up to organize the struggle for the return of the islands.

The government of the Comoros has been equally active in recent years in its attempts to regain Mayotte. The ruling Ujima Party has called this a primary objective and has won UN support.

The unconcealed contempt with which London and Paris have responded to the demands of the world community for the immediate decolonization of these islands proved once again that the imperialist states will even go so far as to violate the standards of international law for the sake of their own "military and strategic interests."

The Soviet Union, on whose initiative the UN General Assembly adopted the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples

in 1960, has resolutely advocated the unconditional observance of all of the provisions of this document by former mother countries. The USSR and the countries of the socialist community feel that the international community's decisions on decolonization, including those pertaining to the African islands in the Indian Ocean, must be implemented as quickly as possible.

The struggle of the states in the subregion for the restoration of territorial unity and national sovereignty over the territories which were taken away from them is directed against the imperialist policy of militarizing the Indian Ocean and is intended to strengthen peace and security in the region.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1984
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

8588

CSO: 1807/117

INTERNATIONAL

MONOGRAPH ON WESTERN MONOPOLIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 84 p 62

[Review by A. Rogozhin of book "Sverkhmonopolii v Yugo-Vostochnoy Azii" [Supermonopolies in Southeast Asia], eds-in-chief G. I. Chufrin and G. S. Shabalina, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka," 1983, 222 pages: "Transnational Corporations and the Developing Countries: Regional Aspect"]

[Text] The subject of this review, a collective study of transnational corporate expansion in one of the largest regions of the developing world, Southeast Asia, is the first study of its kind in the USSR and is also unparalleled in foreign scientific literature. It seems extremely pertinent in view of the fact that the nonsocialist countries of this region, especially the ASEAN states, became the target of more active expansion by the TNC's in the 1970's.

What motivated the TNC's to penetrate the economies of Southeast Asia so quickly and on such a broad scale? The reasons for this complex process are discussed in the first chapter of the work. It examines all of the natural, socioeconomic and political factors of regional and global significance which contributed to the dramatic increase of TNC interest in the region, and particularly in the ASEAN countries. The most important, according to the authors, were the presence of many valuable mineral and vegetable resources and the favorable conditions of their derivation; the supply of the necessary manpower; the potentially large domestic market; the favorable investment legislation and the relative political and economic stability of the region.

The authors stress that the TNC's were intrigued by the variety and combination of regional natural resources, their significant and relatively undeveloped potential and, in part, their unique nature. The TNC's considered the available supply of energy resources in the ASEAN countries and the favorable prospects for the extraction of oil and natural gas there. The geographic and transport conditions of Southeast Asia were important to the TNC's. The presence of substantial resources of skilled and unskilled labor promoted more energetic activity here by TNC's. The ASEAN countries are ahead of other developing states in terms of the educational and professional makeup of the labor force, and Singapore, the Philippines and Malaysia have many technical specialists. Expansion by the TNC's has also been stimulated by the colossal difference between wage levels in the developed capitalist countries and the ASEAN states.

The role of the domestic market as a factor motivating TNC expansion in the ASEAN zone is specifically analyzed in the work. The authors made an attempt, with unquestionable success in general, to estimate the scales of the collective domestic market of the ASEAN zone, the prospects for its further growth and its "degree of appeal" to TNC's.

The main stages of the TNC penetration of Southeast Asia and the current position of the TNC's in the economies of the ASEAN countries are analyzed in the second chapter. On the basis of extensive documented information and many original calculations and estimates, the authors explain why the ASEAN zone became the main region of TNC investments in the second half of the 1960's, concentrating on the explanation of economic motives.

The third chapter of the work is wholly devoted to an examination of something seen exclusively in this region--TNC cooperation with local Chinese capital. The motives and conditions of this cooperation, its objects and forms and the role played in the TNC penetration of the region by such centers of local Chinese capital as Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore are analyzed. The authors correctly assume that the alliance of TNC's with local Chinese capital is now extremely strong and is based on a system of multiple and diverse ties. The support of local Chinese capital considerably facilitates, the authors believe, TNC operations in the region and complicates government control of TNC activity.

Another complex matter elucidated in this work is TNC participation in the current processes of economic integration in Southeast Asia, particularly in the ASEAN zone. Analyzing this, the authors make note of the increased effort of TNC's to participate in these processes in the 1970's. Nevertheless, there are significant differences in the degree of interest in regional integration of various TNC's and the efforts of monopolies to subordinate the economic convergence of regional states to their own interests. The authors draw the valid conclusion that the integration measures supported by TNC's in Southeast Asia are only those which will not impede (and are likely to promote) the escalation of their economic expansion on the regional level.

The reader will be interested in learning about the specific part played by TNC's in the resolution of general and particular problems of reproduction in the Southeast Asian countries and the distinctive features of TNC activity in such spheres as environmental protection, the establishment of a scientific and technical base, the acquisition of organizational experience, the training of personnel, etc.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1984
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

8588

CSO: 1807/117

INTERNATIONAL

BOOK CRITICIZING INTERNATIONAL ZIONISM REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 84 pp 62-63

[Review by O. Kovtunovich of book "Sionizm--orudiye agressivnykh imperialisticheskikh krugov" [Zionism--A Weapon of Aggressive Imperialist Circles] by S. M. Rogotov, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya, 1983, 208 pages: "Imperialism's Weapon"]

[Text] In this book, S. M. Rogotov exposes the real purpose of the ideology and practice of international Zionism with the aid of documented information from the late 1970's and early 1980's. The hostility of Zionist ideology toward the interests of the European laboring public is conclusively demonstrated. Basing his analysis on the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, the author exposes the groundless myths about the existence of a "Jewish nationality" and about the allegedly classless nature of the Zionist ideology.

The author's criticism of the unscientific Zionist thesis about "eternal anti-Semitism" is extremely important. S. M. Rokotov demonstrates that it is precisely the Zionists who have an interest in the artificial exaggeration of anti-Semitism, which allows them to conceal the acute social conflicts within the Jewish population of the capitalist countries and divert its attention from class conflicts by underscoring the supposedly eternal discord and enmity between Jews and non-Jews. After revealing the racist nature of the ideology and practice of Zionism, the author concentrates on exposing the provocative anti-Soviet actions of Zionists and the propaganda campaigns they organize under the false slogan of the "defense of Soviet Jews."

S. M. Rokotov cites new data on the actions of Zionist and pro-Zionist circles in Western countries advocating the continued escalation of international tension. This facet of Zionist activity is an integral part of the general policy of the most reactionary imperialist forces which resolved at the end of the 1970's to escalate the arms race and to embark on overt confrontations with the socialist world. The section of the book in which the author describes the covert maneuvers of Zionists and their patrons to prevent the ratification of the SALT II treaty by the American Congress, and their efforts to interfere in the work of the Madrid meeting of the states party to the All-Europe Conference, will be of interest to the general reading public.

The author reveals the network of interrelations between the major international Zionist organizations, primarily those between the World Zionist Organization and the World Jewish Congress. He stresses that although the Zionists have been unable to expand the reactionary activity of these organizations to actual worldwide scales, they nevertheless take every opportunity to proclaim their mythical omnipotence. The author completely refutes these false allegations with concrete documents and statistics.

Israel's aggressive policy in the Middle East is analyzed at length. People in Washington expected the Israeli Army's attacks on Syria and the PLO to undermine the position of anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world, and the disappearance of the PLO from the political stage would have allowed the United States to cut the "Palestinian knot" and force Israel to agree to rapprochement with conservative Arab states (p 17). These plans were frustrated by the heroic struggle of the Palestinian and Lebanese patriots, by the repulsion of the aggressor by Syrian military subunits, and by the world progressive public's support of the just Arab cause.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1984
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

8588

CSO: 1807/117

INTERNATIONAL

SOVIETS AID ETHIOPIAN GES CONSTRUCTION, DROUGHT CONTROL

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by Z. Kadymbekov, IZVESTIYA staff correspondent: "Letter from Addis-Ababa. And the Desert Will Come to Life."]

[Text] The treaty of friendship and cooperation between Socialist Ethiopia and the USSR, signed 20 November 1978 in Moscow, gave new impetus to the development of amicable relations between the two countries, permitted the widening and strengthening of bilateral contacts in the fields of politics, economics, science and technology and culture. The Soviet Union is helping the people of Ethiopia build a new life: helping to erect industrial plants and hydroelectric power stations, turn virgin soil and seek useful minerals in the depths of the earth. Today thousands of Soviet specialists are working on friendship projects. This report from our correspondent tells of one of them.

In Ethiopia today overcoming the effects of a protracted drought is a task of nationwide importance. This task concerns everyone--peasants, workers, the Party and the government. Each evening television shows devoted to the struggle with this dangerous natural disaster are broadcast. I recall my first encounter with Aleksandr Pavlovich Stepanov, the chief Soviet expert on the construction of the GES (Hydroelectric Power Station) at (Melka-Wakane). More than a year has passed since I first met him in that desert place, far from the capital. At that time the dam itself was not even begun. Maintenance shops and a cement plant were being built, all the auxiliary production facilities without which the erection of a hydroelectric power station would be unthinkable. On the solitary, windswept savanna not far from the Wabi Shebele River a dam builders' settlement arose little by little, the outlines of what would someday be the principal street were marked off, and on voluntary Saturday workdays Soviet specialist together with their Ethiopian colleagues planted young trees along its edges, naming this street the future "Friendship Boulevard." Along it, along this boulevard which did not yet exist and which at that time resembled a country road, Soviet equipment traveled to the construction site: power shovels, "KraZ"

[Kremenchug Motor Vehicle Plant], "MAZ" [Minsk Motor Vehicle Plant], and "ZIL" [Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev] trucks, graders and cranes. A systematic assault on the uninhabited savanna was underway, an assault which would transform it and breathe life into it.

Melka Wakane," Stepanov recounted, "translated from the language of the local inhabitants means 'little water, a ford'. But our project is by no means small; we are building here the largest GES in the country, with a capacity of 153,000 kilowatts, and hundreds of enterprises in the USSR are supplying us with reliable equipment. The planning and survey work was also done by Soviet specialists. We started out here in 1982 with tents, where our first construction team--12 people in all--lived by candlelight."

And now I was meeting with Stepanov again.

"Drought," he said, "is an insidious natural phenomenon, and combatting it is a complex problem. There are two types of aid in such situations: short-term, i.e., supplying food and medicine and setting up special camps, and long-term. Our project may be said to fall into the category of long-term assistance. You see, the installation of this GES and the current which it will yield will bring the desert to life and allow the utilization of hundreds of thousands of hectares of new land. That means new fields of wheat and teff, which represent a significant step in an upswing of agricultural production and thereby an assault on drought and a victory over hunger."

(Melka-Wakane) today is changed beyond recognition: the saplings along "Friendship Boulevard" have grown tall and green, a construction workers' town with neat, comfortable cottages and garden plots has sprung up and 40 kilometers of roads have been built in a little over a year. Now a collective of 150 Soviet specialists is at work here. However, it is not these changes, noteworthy though they are, which adorn the construction site today. One of the most important components of the GES is now being erected: the dam which will block the path of the Wabi Shebele. Not long ago the one thousandth cubic meter of concrete was poured.

I am standing with Girma Gebre-Georgis, the project's chief power engineer and a graduate of the Odessa Polytechnical Institute, at that point on the riverbank where the impounding of the Wabi has already begun; we observe how dump trucks drive up to the dam one after another.

"In a day we pour up to 70 cubic meters of concrete into the core of the dam," says Girma. "We're working at a good pace. We would like to complete the project sooner. This GES has tremendous significance for our country. Our Soviet friends understand this also. They work selflessly and all are highly qualified specialists. And their foreman is a match for them, a man who knows his job down to the smallest detail. Comrade Stepanov's experience is tremendously rich. After all, he did build the Irkutskaya, Krasnoyarskaya and Sayano-Shushenskaya GES's. We, graduates of Soviet universities--and there are currently 15 of us on this project--know what gigantic energy installations those are. Your people share their knowledge

and experience generously. In a short time they trained 30 Ethiopian specialists: power shovel operators, crane operators and truck drivers, not to mention construction laborers. Tremendous thanks to them for that!

Today Soviet specialists are at work in many corners of Ethiopia: in the tractor assembly plant at Nazret, with a geological research expedition in Ogaden, in Gambela, where 10,000 hectares of land are being brought under cultivation, in the Red Cross hospital in Addis-Ababa, everywhere, where joint projects are underway or have already been completed. They are helping the people of this fraternal country lay the foundations of their national economy and build a new life.

12825

CSO: 1807/126

INTERNATIONAL

CATHOLICS SEEN DIVIDED OVER ROLE OF LATIN AMERICAN CHURCH

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by K. Khachaturov, doctor of historical sciences, professor:
"Chaplains of the Undeclared War"]

[Excerpt] It is well known that many believers and even some priests participated in the armed struggle against the pro-American dictator Somoza under the banner of the SFNO [Sandinista Front for National Liberation]. After the revolution's victory the patriotic part of the church, especially the lowest levels of the clergy, supported the creation of "a new earth and a new heaven" and took an active part in the building of a society of social justice. Priests headed the ministries of foreign affairs, culture and education. The recently elected president of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega, reaffirmed the SFNO's willingness to have a dialog with the church. The accusations of persecution of the church by the sandinistas sound all the more blasphemous.

Washington and the Vatican undertook the urgent task of preventing the participation of the believers in the development of the revolutionary process. Soon after the revolution's victory all six bishops who had served during the Somoza era were called to the Vatican and there they demanded that priests occupying posts in the SFNO government leave them "as soon as possible". Otherwise, "disobedient" persons were threatened with excommunication.

The "NEW YORK TIMES" wrote in August of this year that, at the time of his recent visit to the United States, Archbishop Obando y Bravo acknowledged receipt of financial support from the U.S. government and made a request for the granting of additional aid via the transnational corporation "Grace and Company", which operates in many Latin American countries. In exchange the archbishop gave an associate of this corporation intelligence information of a military nature. And the CIA complimented Obando y Bravo, saying they were well acquainted with the archbishop's activities, which were effective and well organized in their opinion.

Details of the far-reaching CIA plan, code-named "Horse", were published by the well-informed and influential Mexican magazine "PROCESO". According to the magazine's information, this plan assigned the "trojan horse," the Nicaraguan Catholic reaction, the task of assisting American military intervention and of weakening criticism of Washington's policy on the part of Catholics in the United States.

Almost 5 centuries ago America was enslaved, but not by the sword alone. In the first wave of the Spanish conquest there were priests, who forcibly converted the heathen Indians to Christianity. Since then Latin America has become the Vatican's most extensive diocese and today every second Catholic in the world is a Latin American. Internal reaction and imperialism have attempted to use Catholicism as an ideological support.

However, in recent years in Latin America no other form of ideology has undergone such rapid changes as the Catholic religion, producing a field of acute struggle between diverse and, at times, antagonistic forces. The demarcation in the multi-level hierarchy of Catholicism and its turn towards social problems are explained first and foremost by the influence on the masses of believing workers, as well as on part of the priesthood, of the anti-imperialistic revolutionary process which is rapidly developing on the continent. As a result, in a majority of the region's countries there has been a trend toward increased influence and participation in Catholicism ("liberation theology")--including its' most radical wing--"the rebellious church"--has developed. Its' most brilliant spokesman was a priest from the National University of Bogota, Camillo Torres.

About 20 years ago, in an overcrowded auditorium of the Columbian capital's university I had the rare opportunity of listening to a lecture by the young Camillo Torres. He called for the revolutionary reconstruction of society and for cooperation with all anti-imperialistic forces, including the communists. "Why should we waste time on arguments with the communists about whether or not the soul is mortal, when all around us is deadly poverty?" he asked from the rostrum. Soon thereafter Camillo Torres joined the partisan movement and was killed in battle. The slogan of his followers, the "Camillistas", has been worded thus: "It is the duty of every Christian to be a revolutionary and it is the duty of every revolutionary to make revolution". The evolution of the church and especially the steady reduction in the number of believers in Latin America have provoked sharp concern in the Vatican. In recent years in Latin America more than 30,000 priests and 100,000 nuns have broken with the church.

The attempt to slow down the radicalization of believers has become one of the basic directions of the activities of the Vatican's ruling circles. In 1979 the synod of bishops decreed that in Latin America "the church must become the alternative to Marxism". In that same year John Paul II's very first trip abroad was to Latin America, which he subsequently has visited repeatedly (it is appropriate to remember that in the history of Catholicism the Roman pontiff had visited the Latin American continent for the first time just in 1968). However, the Vatican's efforts to "eradicate sedition" did not yield the desired results.

U. S. imperialism regards the participation of believers in the liberation struggle and the anti-imperialistic position of part of the Catholic Church as a blow to its' own most reliable "rear area," and it is using a "multi-azimuth" policy in the struggle against the "rebellious" church.

First of all, Washington is strengthening support for military and police regimes, including fascist ones, which have spread terror not only against the believers, but also against the servants of the church. Arrests and torture of priests and nuns, prior censorship of sermons and other forms of persecution have become the everyday practices of pro-imperialistic regimes. We need only remember the villianous murder of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero in El Salvador. Many priests, including bishops, are languishing in prisons. The terrorists feel they can act with complete impunity, as evidenced by such a monstrous fact that in El Salvador they were subjected to violence and subsequently there were the brutal murders of four American nuns. It has been proven that the threads of the crime lead to the leader of the fascist "death squads", d'Aubuisson, about whom U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz recently said: "We consider that d'Aubuisson, as a leader of the loyal opposition in the true sense of this word, deserves our support".

Secondly, various organizations in the United States, not only religious ones, but also government departments, in particular the CIA, are increasing pressure on the Catholic Church in Latin America, directing attacks against that part of the clergy which is supporting participation in the general democratic movement and which is calling for constructive dialog with atheists, including communists.

Thirdly, in Latin America there are entrenched numerous protestant sects, which are active basically in the lumpen-proletariat environment and are wholly dependent on the United States (and very frequently on the CIA). Under the black banner of double-dyed reaction, they operate first and foremost in regions enveloped by the active anti-imperialist struggle. Thanks namely to the efforts of North American missionaries Latin America has become the only region in the world where the number of Protestants is growing at the expense of the Catholics.

Fourthly, the White House is attempting to stop a growing division among Catholics in the United States. Many U.S. Catholics actively oppose the arms race, support a freeze on nuclear weapons and oppose the aggressive U.S. policy in Latin America and in the rest of the world. Of the more than 50 million Catholics in the United States, every fourth one is a person of Hispanic decent. In other words, together with blacks, they represent the more oppressed segment of the nation's population. Many of them have proclaimed solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of Latin America. "Communists and Catholics, as is well known, have different philosophical viewpoints", noted K. U. Chernenko. "However, this does not prevent us from struggling jointly for peace, when peace is threatened by serious danger". In the "crusade" of U. S. imperialism against peace and social progress the number of attempts to set the believers against atheists, especially communists, is growing at a rather significant rate. A large number of examples can be found in Latin American life. But they are merely indicative of the futility of the efforts of Washington's "crusaders".

NATIONAL

CHEKHARIN INTERVIEWED ON EDUCATION REFORM

Moscow OTCHIZNA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 (signed to press 9 Oct 84) pp 4-5

[Interview with Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich Chekharin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by Lidiya Derun, special correspondent of the journal OTCHIZNA; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] Question: Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, why has the necessity arisen to conduct an educational reform, and what are its economic and social prerequisites?

Answer: The reform was called forth primarily by the policy of the party for the systematic and all-round perfection of mature socialism, as well as by the special features of the contemporary stage of our social development, which give rise to new, more perfect forms of social life and, with them, also to a new type of individual.

In developing the conception and strategy of the further development of the Soviet general education and vocational school, the CPSU Central Committee and the commission of the Politburo of the Central Committee under the chairmanship of K. U. Chernenko, were guided by the classic Leninist proposition concerning the single working polytechnical Soviet school, concerning the principles and goals of its construction, and by the historical experience of the development of public education in the USSR, as well as by the analysis of its contemporary state in the light of the new historic tasks confronting the Soviet people.

Our Reference:

In the USSR 5.3 million persons are studying in higher schools;

in secondary general education and vocational schools--52.5 million; and together with the system of preschool education--about 80 million.

Today there are 142,000 general education schools in the USSR.

A great leap has been taken from the mass illiteracy reigning in prerevolutionary Russia. . . to the contemporary situation, where of a thousand persons employed in the country 858 have a higher or secondary or specialized (complete or incomplete) education.

The constantly growing demand for specialists has led to the opening of new universities and other institutions of higher education. There has been an increase in the network of institutions of secondary specialized education, as well as of vocational schools, in which industrial personnel was trained.

In solving general education tasks and arming the students with the knowledge of the laws of nature and social development, the Soviet school shapes their ideological views and convictions on this basis.

It is necessary to note that we are talking not about a formal reorganization of the existing system of public education, but about bringing it into conformity with the level of development of the productive forces in the conditions of the mature socialist society.

Sociologists cite convincing data to the effect that in 1930 an 8-year education was sufficient for the mastery of 58 percent of the professions, in the 1970's--of 6 percent, and in the 1980's--of only 4 percent.

Question: What is the essence of the educational reform, what are its main directions?

Answer: The reform. . . is calculated for two five-year-plans, and in regard to a number of problems for a longer term. It concerns all aspects of the activity of public education--from the structure of the school to the content of programs and textbooks, from the training of future teachers to new regulations for the students. Its essence and purpose are determined by one main reference point--the formation of the all-round developed individual.

Problems of the improvement of the content of education and strengthening the links of study with the practice of contemporary production occupy an important place in educational reform. It has been recognized as expedient to carry out a complex of measures for arming the students with the necessary knowledge and skills of handling computer technology, which presents a difficult and responsible task.

. . . the role of literature is growing. At its basis will be the study of the outstanding works of classical Russian and other literatures of the peoples of our country, and [the works] of Soviet and foreign literature.

Very important is the statute of the Basic Directions of the Further Improvement of the Study of the Russian Language Along With the Native Languages in the Non-Russian Schools.

The revision of educational plans, programs and textbooks will have to be accelerated and completed within the shortest possible period of time.

The pivotal idea of the reform--the fundamental improvement of labor education and the vocational orientation of the students, of the rising generations, and the combination of study with productive labor--has received the unanimous support of the Soviet people.

Of course, there cannot be any question here of the introduction of anything like labor conscription, the idea of which hostile radio voices are throwing up. We are talking about the fact that an individual, who has not been trained to work, cannot be a conscientious builder of a new world.

To inculcate in school children a love for work and to include the force of productive labor in full measure in the educational process--this is one of the most important tasks of education.

The development of the system of vocational and technical education, the possibility of obtaining initial vocational training in the school, and the extensive network of institutions of secondary specialized and higher education are creating the conditions for the transition to the general vocational training of young people in the course of one to two five-year-plans.

Our Reference:

The draft of the reform was submitted for national discussion.
120 million people took part in its discussion.

Question: Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, it is a well-known fact that the combination of study with correctly organized labor increases the effectiveness of training. Obviously, a great deal will have to be done to secure a fundamental improvement of the labor training and study of school children and their vocational orientation, as demanded by the reform?

Answer: The questions of the labor training of students, the mass vocational orientation of young people, and the formation in them of the realized need to work honestly and conscientiously are allotted the key place in the reform.

At the present time, general education training must be combined not simply with the acquisition of work habits, but with the direct participation of every school child in socially useful productive labor commensurate with his or her health and age.

Things must be organized in such a way. . . so that young people feel responsibility for their work, understand its necessity, and develop in themselves a thrifty and zealous attitude to national property.

Millions of youngsters of juvenile age will have to make the chief choice in life--to determine their profession. The duty of the school and society is to impart in them a love for labor and for the people of labor, to form in them, in the process of study and socially useful work, labor skills and ability, inducements for a conscientious choice of a profession, and the receipt of initial vocational training. It is necessary to unite the efforts of the school, the family and labor collectives towards this end.

Question: Could you, Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, not tell the readers about the further development and strengthening of the material base of the school? You see, this will to a large extent determine the success of the reform.

Answer: I will name some figures. In the future five-year-plan the task is established to build schools with places for no less than 7 million pupils.

This is one and a half times more than in the current five-year-plan. I will note that already as of 1 September of the 1983-1984 school year the gradual increase in teachers' salaries, to be administered in stages, has begun--on the average by 30-35 percent. This measure concerned 6 million people.

In the Basic Directions of the Reform of the General Education and Vocational School it is stated that more extensive use must be made of the possibility of state and cooperative enterprises, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, to build schools and other educational institutions. They have been granted the right to allot funds and resources for this purpose.

In the future we will have to solve such problems as the full satisfaction of the requirements for preschool institutions of cities and villages.

Of course, the concept "material base" includes many other problems of schools and of vocational and technical schools. This concerns various equipment for all types of educational institutions, the preparation and publication of new textbooks, various visual aids, modern technical means of training, the training of teachers, educators, etc.

Question: Today one can already observe "kindergarten" conditions in some schools, where 6-year old children are being taught: A sleeping room, a playing room, the daily routine corresponds to the routine that is habitual for a preschooler--walks, games. And in the kindergarten there are desks, a class blackboard, and textbooks. The bell rings, and the lesson begins, the children learn how to read, to count and to write, they acquire the necessary study habits.

Naturally, the question arises: To what extent is the training of children beginning at age 6 justified? Where is it better for them to begin their training?

Answer: The data of scientific research and the conclusion of pedagogical science provide every reason to talk about the fact that instruction from the age of 6 makes sense for society and is useful for the children. It is prepared by the development of the system of preschool education and the children's experience of learning in kindergartens and schools.

There is a need for additional places for pupils, the training of new teachers and material investments in the school cause. Special educational plans and programs have been developed. A qualitative reconstruction of the entire content of instruction is underway, which corresponds more closely to the possibilities of the children and to the new conditions of their instruction.

... the transfer in instruction from the age of 6 will be implemented gradually in the course of a number of years, beginning in 1986, in accordance with the creation of the proper conditions, taking into account the desires of the parents, the level of the development of the children, and local conditions.

During the first stage, a part of the children will enroll in school at the age of 7 as well, and 6-year olds will begin instruction in the older groups of the kindergartens.

In the course of 3 years, the ministries of education of the USSR and the union republics are conducting an extensive experiment in various regions of our country. In so doing, two programs are being verified: the program of instruction in kindergarten and the program of instruction in the school. By 1990 this important part of the educational reform will basically be completed.

Question: Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, what will the structure of education in conformity with the reform be like?

Answer: The secondary general education school will become an 11-year school. As has already been said above, it is proposed that the instruction of children in school begin at the age of 6. Thus, in elementary school (1st to 4th grades) the length of instruction will increase by 1 year.

The incomplete secondary school (5th to 9th grades), as at present, provides for the study of the sciences in the course of 5 years. With completion of the 9th grade, the pupils receive an incomplete secondary education. This is the base for obtaining a general secondary and vocational education along various channels.

The secondary general education and vocational school includes the 10th and 11th grades of the general education school, vocational and technical schools, and institutions of secondary specialized education. It provides general secondary education, labor and vocational training for young people. For pupils of the 8th to the 11th grades, physics and mathematics, chemistry and biology, and social science and humanistic optional studies are organized in accordance with their choice.

In the process of labor training, the senior pupils master mass occupations. Thus, in the course of 1-2 five-year-plans the general secondary education of the young people will be supplemented by general vocational training.

Our Reference:

It is planned to build new schools with places for 7 million pupils and 800 complexes of vocational and technical schools during the 12th Five-Year-Plan. For the implementation of the reform, 11 billion rubles are being allocated; of this amount, 3.4 billion a year will go for an increase of the wages of teachers and other workers in public education.

Question: Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, it is evident that the success of the undertaking will to a large extent depend on the local Soviets as well. What is the role of the Soviets in the realization of the reform?

Answer: The role of the Soviets in the realization of state policy in the sphere of education is increasing significantly. You see, it is precisely on them that the concerns of the improvements in the management of education, for the reinforcement of educational institutions with personnel, and the working and everyday living conditions of the teachers are laid. The rural school especially needs their daily attention.

As is well known, the base enterprise is consolidated behind every school and educational production combine. This attaches a new character to the alliance of school and production. The creation of the necessary conditions for the labor training of school children is an integral concern of the Soviets.

COPYRIGHT: Otechizna, 1984

RP7C

ESD: 1830/206

NATIONAL

CONCEPT OF SOCIALIST REALISM REAFFIRMED

Moscow ZNAMYA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 (signed to press 23 Oct 84) pp 206-216

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yu. A. Lukin: "To Affirm the High Ideals of Socialism"]

[Text] "Nothing can replace literature and art in indoctrinating public morals and feelings of people or in their ability to effect both the mind and the heart."

K. U. Chernenko

Each of us who on that day of 25 September 1984 was present in the Great Kremlin Palace at the Jubilee Plenum of the Board of the USSR Writers Union could not help but feel the special atmosphere and the importance of the occurring event. Representatives from all detachments of the creative intelligentsia--writers and journalists, artists and musicians, architects, theater and movie people--had assembled here in order to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the First All-Union Soviet Writers Congress. It was a congress which, in the words of M. Gorkiy, convincingly demonstrated the victory of Bolshevism. It was a congress which after extended searches established the organizational form for a professional association of literary workers and adopted the union By-Laws. Here a central place is held by the defining of the leading creative method of our multinational literature, the method of socialist realism based upon the Leninist principle of communist party loyalty and national character. It was a congress which adopted such organizational forms for uniting the artists of the word and which were also taken up by the masters of other arts.

All the speakers at the jubilee plenum pointed out that the importance of the first writer congress went far beyond our own artistic life. The congress became an event of enormous historical importance and a turning point in the history of the development of the Soviet intelligentsia, showing the closest unity of labor and art, the unbreakable tie of artistic creativity with the life of the people and the fervent interest of the people in all that was occurring in the sphere of artistic creativity. It demonstrated the interest of the artists in everything occurring in the life of society and all Soviet people.

In the report at the jubilee plenum of the Board of the USSR Writers Union, the First Secretary of the USSR Writers Union G. M. Markov emphasized: "The Communist Party teaches us not to be content with what we have achieved. This means

primarily great exactingness for oneself and for others. In terms of literature and art, this party demand coincides fully with the advice of our founders and with our inner motives and our own criteria of talent.... We live today in a time where the level of artistic tastes and needs in the people is high, when an artist is expected to create works which would extol the creators of a new society and would help mobilize all the spiritual forces of the people in successfully carrying out the grandiose socioeconomic and cultural programs outlined by the party."

There is every reason to say that the recently held jubilee plenum became a significant phenomenon in the artistic life of the nation, an event which marked a qualitatively new stage in the history of Soviet artistic culture. The inestimable political, social and ideological importance of this plenum is determined primarily by the fact that here the vivid and profoundly reasoned speech of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, in being full of new fundamental theoretical generalizations and conclusions, shed light on numerous aspects of the interaction of artistic culture and social progress, art and socialist civilization, artistic creativity and the particular features of the present-day ideological struggle. This speech further creatively enriched the theory of socialist literature and art in the stage of improving developed socialism.

1

At any stage of human history, literature and art have ultimately reflected the particular features and nature of their times, they have "fed" off their conflicts, their real human characters and types and most importantly have recreated an artistic atmosphere, moral demands, the joys and concerns of contemporaries. This is completely valid for the literature and art of today, the main development line of which being determined by the particular features of the relatively extended stage of improving developed socialism.

The concept of developed socialism, said K. U. Chernenko at the jubilee plenum, makes it possible for us to clearly define the achieved level of society's socioeconomic maturity and to more clearly formulate our immediate and long-range goals. The theoretical concept of developed socialism is far from an abstraction, and it speaks of specific, vitally important things. It says that we must have a measured, realistic approach which does not allow either marking time or skipping ahead, either the understating of indisputable achievements or the varnishing of reality. The demand of realistically weighing all the pluses and minuses, what we have achieved and what is still unresolved does not in any way mean a focusing on the every day, the banal and the routine. The party looks ahead, giving primary importance to what determines the future of the nation, the people and largely the fate of peace.

A realistic assessment that the higher stage of the development of socialism, communism, is impossible without an historically extended stage of developed socialism (with our country being at the start of this) in no way means, as it may seem to some, a distancing of the communist future. On the contrary, it is possible to bring this future closer only having resolved the entire range of major and complex problems which relate to one degree or another to the first phase of communist construction.

The length of the stage of developed socialism in no way means that it is possible not to be concerned for increasing the pace or that the solution to certain problems could be put off until "later on." The formula of "developed socialism," K. U. Chernenko emphasized, is aimed at bringing all aspects of life in Soviet society into conformity with the highest, most exacting and scientifically sound notions of socialism.

The concept of developed socialism, in addition to a theoretical content, also includes an enormous moral and political sense which mobilizes the millions of workers and kolkhoz members and the labor intelligentsia to a creative search for new ways for resolving the arising tasks and which conform to the particular features of the period we are living through.

An activist position in life and a creative attitude toward a job have always been characteristic for the builders of a socialist society. At the stage of improving developed socialism, the importance of a creative approach to one's job and the creative nature of labor has increased a hundred fold.

The successful solution to the grandiose and historically important economic, organizational and sociopolitical tasks arising in the stage of improving developed socialism would be impossible without a reorienting of all social awareness to the rapid assimilation of new ideas proposed by the party and without a decisive escape from obsolete, backward views. The intelligentsia, including the representatives of literature and art, have always had an enormous impact on social conscience and on the spiritual life of society. But when society, as K. U. Chernenko said at the plenum, comes face to face with qualitatively new tasks the solution to which requires a new level of social awareness, the role of the intelligentsia is particularly great here. Precisely they must maximally mobilize that enormous spiritual and creative potential acquired by the generations of Soviet people and which is capable of giving a powerful thrust to all our development.

The very nature of the tasks presently confronting society opens up unlimited opportunities for applying the creative forces and energy of all detachments of the Soviet intelligentsia.

"I am confident," said K. U. Chernenko at the jubilee plenum, "of the enormous inspiring importance of this task for the workers of our literature and art. By their own means they must affirm that very approach to life and its problems which the party is acting and fighting. Incidentally, if one must briefly define the essence of this approach, one could certainly employ the well-familiar words of socialist realism."

In their artistic practices modern Soviet literature and art are based on the very rich traditions of progressive Russian literature, the democratic culture of the Russian peoples and the world classical heritage. They rest on the traditions of Gorkiy and Mayakovskiy, Fadeyev and Sholokhov, on all that is truly talented and profound which has appeared in artistic creativity in recent years, that stirs the Soviet readers, listeners and viewers and forces one to think and debate.

At present, Soviet culture is an organic fusion of the spiritual values created by all nations and nationalities. The very fact of awarding the Order of Friendship of Peoples during the jubilee year to the USSR Writers Union for services in the development of literature and for a major contribution of the Soviet writers to communist construction again emphasizes the multinational nature of our literature which is being created in the 78 languages of the Soviet nations and nationalities.

The formation of the Writers Union, the Lithuanian writer A. Maldonis pointed out at the plenum, meant that the time was over of the cultural isolation of the large and small peoples and that international cultural ties had reached a level of a planned, purposeful and organized process of interaction and reciprocal enrichment. Just how far this interaction and mutual enrichment have gone was shown by A. Maldonis from just one but very convincing example of his republic. At present, it is impossible, he said, to imagine the spiritual world of the Lithuanian without an organic part of it, that is, the Russian classical and Russian Soviet literature, the artistic words, music and plastic arts of the other fraternal peoples. In turn, the names of Salomeya Neris, Pyatras Tsvirka, Eduardas Mezhelaitis, Jonas Avizhyus and many other Lithuanian writers, artists and composers have been inscribed in the treasury of social culture. Around 600 books by Lithuanian authors have been translated into Russian, the language of international intercourse and Lithuanian Soviet literature is being translated into 36 languages of the Soviet peoples and 27 foreign languages.

And this is the state of affairs with the literature and art of each Union and autonomous republic, each Soviet nation and nationality when by common effort a single Soviet-wide culture is created which is socialist in content, multinational in form, and internationalist in spirit and character.

Each of the national writers, musicians, architects and artists in his creativity relies on the rich centuries-old cultural traditions of his people and endeavors to depict the life of his republic more profoundly and vividly. At the same time all the experience of modern artistic practices shows, as K. U. Chernenko said, that "the more closely national culture is tied to others, the more intensely it inculcates in itself those traits of the spiritual and artistic experience of the fraternal peoples which have assumed international importance and the more rapidly and fruitfully it develops. And all the greater the contribution it makes to enriching the spiritual life of all the Soviet people and all our society."

The Communist Party has shown constant concern for the high ideological focus and artistic improvement of multinational Soviet literature and art and for further strengthening the artistic ties of the cultural workers with the life of the people and with the practices of communist construction. The party has been concerned that art should reflect the socially significant problems and confirm the goals of life which are worthy of the Soviet man, the standards of communist morality as well as the beauty and greatness of our moral values. The party has called upon the literary and artistic workers to assist by their creativity in further bringing together and mutually enriching the socialist nations as well as the ideological and political unification of the Soviet multinational society.

"Nothing can replace literature and art in the indoctrination of public morals and feelings of people, in their ability to affect both the mind and the heart," said K. U. Chernenko at the plenum.

These words contain the recognition by the Communist Party of the great social importance of artistic culture. At the same time this phrase implies certain obligations. It bespeaks the exceptional responsibility of the artist. The great right provided by socialism of direct participation in the building of a new life, to be the strict judge of all that is bigoted and obsolete and to affirm by one's art the true humanism and high ideals of socialism--and precisely this, said K. U. Chernenko, is the political meaning of socialist realism--places the greatest responsibility on the artist when the most accurate criterion of success is that actual degree of influence which the artist, literature and art have as a whole on shaping the ideological and moral appearance of people.

Artistic creativity must take an active part in carrying out the great and complex tasks of communist indoctrination, in increasing the labor and social activeness of the masses and in the economic and social development of the country. It must more clearly see the new which is presently arising in production relations and in party, state and economic activity.

2

Of fundamental importance for the further development of multinational Soviet literature and art are those provisions of the speech of K. U. Chernenko which relate directly to the theoretical aspects of socialist realism.

It is essential to point out first of all that according to the long Leninist tradition, jubilee celebrations--national, republic and professional--are never employed in our nation merely to sum up impressive results (and they are indisputable also in the sphere of artistic creativity). Any anniversary or ceremony is also a good pretext for a frank and thorough discussion. No exception in this regard was the Jubilee Plenum of the USSR Writers Union where K. U. Chernenko in his speech raised many questions relating to the state of affairs in literature and art and the problems of artistic creativity.

This concerns first of all such an acute problem on both the theoretical and practical level of artistic conflict. The "theory of no conflict" and the conflict of the better against the good have long since disappeared from the scene but its vestiges are still felt in creativity, there still are far-fetched conflicts, a facile solution or a fear of raising acute questions. Certainly, in a socialist society contradictions and conflicts do not have an antagonistic nature. These are contradictions between awareness and spontaneity, conflicts arising in the search for the most effective methods and means for resolving one or another vitally important question, in seeking out a harmonious reconciliation between the measure of labor and the measure of consumption, territorial and sectorial principles of management, individual aspirations of people and social necessity.... The modern film, theater and literature frequently address complex, contradictory phenomena. "There is nothing surprising in this," said K. U. Chernenko at the plenum. "Contradictions are natural and unavoidable in the development process of socialist society. Of course, they always in one way

or another influence the fate of people and become a source of moral conflict. Moreover, the overcoming of these contradictions, although they do not have an antagonistic nature in our country, requires a great deal of effort, great civil maturity and principledness. This is rich food for thought for a writer and for carrying out the eternal mission of literature, that is, to cause society and each person to look more closely and more sharply at himself."

Here of crucial significance is the civil position of the artist and his constructive, creative inspiration. If an artist unswervingly believes in the invincibility of the new, in the inevitable triumph of a just cause and affirmative principles and is able to get across to the reader this belief of his in a vivid, apt, accessible and convincing manner, he has nothing to fear in turning to the sorest points and the most painful questions of our life.

Probably at present there is no more debated theoretical question on the pages of our literary-artistic publications than the problem of the positive hero.

Here is what K. U. Chernenko said at the plenum: The man of labor should be at the center of literature and art. In order to truly shape the Soviet character, the artists should create just, living images of people who are totally dedicated to the people and to socialism and who embody the heroics of building a new world. It is infinitely difficult to shift such heroes from life into an artistic work. Hence the numerous disputes and different viewpoints which ultimately pursue the basic goal of how to make the hero vitally persuasive, reliable, recognizable and close to the reader and viewer who could believe in them and want to imitate them. However, K. U. Chernenko said, "...seemingly unproductive are debates over what should be, for example, the 'balance' of positive and negative qualities in the hero. It is important...that the creative musings of the artist have, if it can be so put, a single point of departure, that is, loyalty to the truth of life and to socialist ideals. This is an essential condition for the party loyalty and democracy of art."

Only such a hero, with a "single point of departure" and loyal to the vital truth and to our socialist ideals can help the reader, viewer and listener assume an activist position as a steadfast fighter for our common cause.

The speeches by the writers at the plenum mentioned the significant successes of Soviet journalism. It is no secret, however, that here we owe all the accomplishments, as a rule, to the representatives of the elder and middle-age generations. There has been a very slight influx of fresh forces in the form of young prose writers, poets and dramatists and they very rarely turn to journalistic genres, particularly to international problems. And precisely such a concern opens up broad horizons and helps to shape clear class positions, civil virtue and patriotism. An involvement in journalism and current affairs provides an opportunity to delve promptly and boldly in the most pressing problems and in the specific economic and social questions of concern to the Soviet people. All of this, said K. U. Chernenko, "helps to create works which by the means of art make it possible at times to outrun time, acutely posing urgent vital problems and offering concrete ways for resolving them."

The turning to history and indoctrination by history aid largely in shaping the feelings of a citizen, and internationalist. We are witnesses of the rise of

the historical short story, the historical novel and poem. More often than in the past, cinematographers and painters have begun to turn to historical subjects. The historical subject is undergoing a true rebirth. But in historical problems more than anywhere else there must be an accuracy of views, a loyalty to the truth and the ability to speak about the past seriously, ~~con-~~ ^{from} from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. Only such an approach can bring and does bring true success. "History must not be rewritten nor must it be purged," said K. U. Chernenko at the plenum. "The artistic embodiment of the history of the struggle of the Soviet people for socialism requires a particularly thoughtful and truly class approach. And in order not to depart from the truth, the artist must stand firmly on the grounds of facts and not substitute emotions and the arbitrary toying of imagination for a knowledge of the patterns and actual course of social development."

On the threshold of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people over fascism, at the jubilee plenum there was a major discussion of the role of artistic culture in military-patriotic indoctrination. The victory over Nazism, as was pointed out in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 40th Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945," showed the advantages of the socialist social system and the superiority of its economic, sociopolitical and spiritual capabilities. This was a victory of the Soviet multinational state and the socialist economic system, a demonstration of the unshakable unity of the party and people, the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the labor intelligentsia, the friendship and fraternity of all the nations and nationalities inhabiting our vast motherland.

The victory in the Great Patriotic War reaffirmed the great vital force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the ideological conviction, the moral and political superiority of the Soviet people.

This was truly a struggle of all the people against fascism. During the years of great hardship there appeared such character traits instilled by the Communist Party in the Soviet man as socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, historical optimism and great humanism. The mass heroism for the sake of defending the socialist fatherland became a standard of conduct for very many soldiers and junior commanders, officers and military leaders.

The Soviet writers and artists, musicians and composers, theater and film workers literally from the very first day of the start of the Great Patriotic War were with the troops defending the motherland, they inspired them and instilled ardent patriotism and courage in the Soviet people. Tens and hundreds of Soviet cultural workers traveled the fiery roads of the war along with the Soviet troops.

Soviet literature and Soviet art helped the people forge the victory and in postwar works have recreated and are recreating the subject of the Great Patriotic War in an artistically vivid and convincing manner. Works which have entered the treasurehouse of world artistic literature are also directly linked to this question.

We are hopeful, said K. U. Chernenko at the jubilee plenum, that in the period of preparing to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, the leadership of the creative unions and organizations will find an opportunity to draw the even more profound attention of the masters of art to the military-patriotic theme.

At the jubilee plenum there was a frank and direct discussion of the tasks involved in increasing professional skills and the artistic improvement of works of art. Without profound artistic embodiment by the means of art, refined form and a vivid apt word, art cannot have any effect and there is no "infecting" of the reader or viewer with the thoughts and feelings experienced by the artist and without which, as L. N. Tolstoy felt, there was no true art. Our great goals, our humane ideals, said K. U. Chernenko at the plenum, require neither uninspired eulogizing in verse or prose, nor the substituting of rote truths for original, fresh thinking. "Poorly written books and operas, crudely filmed TV and movie films, crudely worked sculptures and pictures do not only ruin the taste of millions of people. They discredit the themes and ideas for which their creators are working. Hence, we must struggle constantly and with principle against dullness and drabness in art and certainly there can be no concessions to manifestations of ideological emptiness and ideological primitivism."

The struggle for the quality of art also has another political and ideological aspect. Our opponents "on the other side of the red barricades" often take a not very satisfactory work by a Soviet author where an artistic examination of life has been replaced by sheer declarativeness and persuades everyone that this is the standard which the party requires following. Then the profound, pertinent books written from truly party positions are described as a "deviation" from the norm. Hence, the struggle in art for a unity of ideological content and mastery--these two wings without which it is impossible to rise to the heights of creativity--is becoming not only a major factor in acquainting man with artistic culture and a weapon of aesthetic indoctrination but is also assuming a most immediate political and ideological sense.

In the speech of K. U. Chernenko there was an unbiased discussion of the role of literary and artistic criticism in the correct orientation of the artist and in the proper directing of the development of artistic creativity. The party is equally averse to any one-sided approach to the question, when either compliments are showered over weak novels, performances and films merely because of the "importance of the subject" or the aesthetic refinements of ideologically unsound works are affectingly relished. The experience of Soviet as well as world artistic creativity shows that without a highly professional and civilly responsible criticism there can be no great literature or major art. And this means that our Marxist-Leninist criticism should not only accurately assess various works. The party expects more from artistic criticism: "The ability to disclose the profoundest social sense of the problems which are touched upon in the works, to commend the authors if they have posed them correctly or to argue soundly against them when they err. In a word, our criticism should aid the movement of the people's spiritual life."

And here K. U. Chernenko with extreme aptness recalled the words of V. I. Lenin on the role and importance of literary criticism as an important instrument for

influencing the masses and the need to link "literary criticism more closely with party life...."¹

No matter what questions of the creative process were examined in the speech of K. U. Chernenko--the themes and content of literary and artistic works, the debate over the hero, the problems of artistic conflict or the questions of improving artistic skills--everywhere their ideological importance and political aspects were in the forefront. No matter what question an artist turns to, in whatever field he may work, the social value of his work, said K. U. Chernenko, is determined primarily by that active ideological-political and philosophical position which he holds and affirms.

"Profound ideological content, civic concern and a high level of artistic skill --this is the chief demand of the party and the people on the workers of art." This is precisely how the party has posed the question in the decisions of its congresses, the materials of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the recent decrees of the party Central Committee on cultural questions.

3

At the beginning of the century in his work "Party Organization and Party Literature," V. I. Lenin not only formulated the principle of communist party loyalty in artistic creativity as the fundamental principle of proletarian, socialist art, and not only set out a truly materialistic, scientific understanding of the freedom of creation, but also thoroughly established the principles of party leadership over art and literature, principles which simultaneously consider the specific and the unique of art in a dialectical unity and that art is a component, organic part of the general-party, national concern of transforming society on a communist basis. Even in this work, V. I. Lenin came out against a mechanical equating, against leveling, against the domination of the majority over the minority on the questions of artistic creativity. "There is no dispute," wrote V. I. Lenin, "that on this question it is essential to provide greater scope for personal initiative, individual inclinations, a scope for thought and fantasy, form and content."²

These Leninist principles run as a constant idea through all the CPSU documents during the post-October period. They underlay the Decree of 1932 "On the Reform of Literary and Artistic Organizations" which was a historic document establishing the path of the professional association of creative workers on a basis of strict voluntariness and a recognition of the by-law provisions of their organization. These Leninist principles now determine CPSU cultural policy and find their continuation in the materials of the 24th, 25th and 26th Party Congresses and in the party documents of recent years.

In the speech of K. U. Chernenko at the jubilee plenum, the Leninist principles of party leadership over literature and art underwent further creative development under the conditions of developed socialism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 47, p 143.

² Ibid., Vol 12, p 101.

The party, said K. U. Chernenko at the plenum, is not intervening into the problems of artistic creativity and does not intend to give the artists ready-made formulas on how to solve them and decisively repudiates petty interference in the work of creative people. Creativity is creativity because it is free. The party sets the focus, the social importance and the ideological effectiveness of literature and art.

The party establishes all the conditions which are necessary for the disclosure of all talents and abilities, aiding them to be fully revealed and to create for the good of the people.

The party is considerate of the creators of artistic values, remembering at the same time that the freedom of creativity has nothing in common with anarchistic free will and individualism or the forgetting of the demands and laws of society which are obligatory for all its members. It is impossible to defame the moral and political underpinnings of Soviet society and at the same time expect recognition and goods from it. "Of course, the people will never forgive anyone for going over to the side of our ideological opponents in that acute struggle which is occurring now in the world. Here there cannot be two opinions."

A characteristic feature in the present stage of party leadership is a decisive rise in responsibility, initiative and authority of the party organizations of the creative unions themselves, the artistic collectives and cultural institutions. This was mentioned at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and was stated in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Work of the Party Organization of the Belorussian State Academy Theater imeni Yanky Kupal."

The communists of the creative unions, K. U. Chernenko pointed out in the jubilee plenum, are their political nucleus, the unifying force which must consistently affirm the spirit of party loyalty in the artistic milieu, actively influence the ideological direction of creativity, help shape in the literary and artistic workers a Marxist-Leninist ideology and contribute to the development of the artistic youth.

The party organizations of the artistic unions should give particular attention to strengthening an atmosphere of comradely confidence, great exactingness and demandingness in an artist by another. This can only benefit the artists themselves and art as a whole.

Work in the artistic sphere, when based on a Leninist line, requires that this be done intelligently and with initiative. "And this means," said K. U. Chernenko, "the conducting of a frank, principled discussion with the people of creative labor. In no instance should we avoid the urgent problems which concern the artist. Their solution must not be put off to the so-called superior levels as we must be able to persuade, and if need be, reconvince the other. Without this, party leadership over literature and art is inconceivable. And this makes it, in the apt expression of Gorkiy, a 'morally authoritative force'."

The problems in the present stage of the development of artistic culture are inseparably tied not only to the long-term tasks of improving developed socialism but also to the particular features of the foreign policy situation. At the plenum K. U. Chernenko said that the Western imperialist circles, primarily the United States, have stubbornly refused to resolve matters with the socialist countries on the principles of equality, mutual respect and noninterference into the internal affairs of one another. On that very day, when on behalf of the Soviet state, from the rostrum of the Great Kremlin Palace the Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet K. U. Chernenko again asked the Western countries for a constructive dialogue, and to search for ways to alleviate international tension, R. Reagan, in speaking before the opening of the general political debate at the regular 39th UN General Assembly Session in New York, without any substantiation affirmed that the United States was endeavoring to limit the arms race and supported the basic goals and principles of the UN Charter. All the arguments of Reagan about his peacefulness were aimed at concealing the true goals of Washington foreign policy which holds an interventionist position in all regions of the world and to camouflage the same policy which is aimed at a further heightening of international tension, at achieving military superiority and intervening into the internal affairs of other states.

Even the bourgeois Western press which in no way can be suspected of any sympathies for the antinuclear movement of the world community, wrote that this speech was yet another sample of a political pre-election maneuver. The influential newspaper WASHINGTON POST commented thusly on Reagan's speech: "Scarcely anyone would assume that it reflected a rejection of his anticommunist policy and position." To this one must add just one fact: during those very days when R. Reagan was announcing American peacefulness in the United Nations, committees in the American Congress were discussing the draft military financial expenditures for the next year of 1985 for the fantastic total of 297 billion dollars.

In their desire to distort the true policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist way of life, our ideological opponents do not overlook our literature and art. How many mountains of lies and fabrication have been heaped up in the West! In talking about the benefit of a comparison of ideas and views and the development of contacts between people, the West unceremoniously intervenes into our internal affairs and conducts subversive psychological warfare. And here the West is hoping to influence cultural figures, endeavoring to shake their unity with the party and resorting here to far from intelligent methods such as lies, the twisting of facts and the altering of concepts. It is bandied about that freedom of creativity is supposedly incompatible with socialism, that the party blocks off the paths for creative search and requires "monotony" in literature and art. Need it be said that here everything has been turned upside down; that V. I. Lenin even in 1905 spoke about scope in art for creative individuals; and that in the materials of recent party congresses and Central Committee plenums and in the Central Committee decrees of recent years it has been constantly emphasized that the party is in favor of a diversity of styles, genres and individual manners on the basis of the method of socialist realism?

"Of course, it is a hopeless matter of persuading our ideological opponents. But we must constantly defend and explain our views, check the hand of dishonest 'critics' of the new order, actively bring the people the truth about socialism, indoctrinate the Soviet people, particularly the youth, in a spirit of class vigilance and a readiness to defend our great motherland."

The foreign policy line of the CPSU is firm and consistent. It is aimed at a radical limitation and reduction of the arms race and at the banning and complete elimination of nuclear weapons. This line is supported by all the peace-loving forces of the world and at present millions upon millions of people with different views and convictions abroad are working for these same goals. The joint actions of the peace supporters have had a significant impact on the shaping of antiwar public opinion. In this movement much can be done, said K. U. Chernenko at the plenum, by cultural figures and the intelligentsia. At present, particularly timely are the famous words of Gorkiy: "Which side are you on, master of culture?" Here the question does not come down, stressed K. U. Chernenko, to a choice between the USSR and the United States. "The question is a choice between the life and death of our civilization. Here there is no 'golden mean': either you are with those who are preparing for war or with those who reject the adventurist policy of imperialism and are fighting for peaceful coexistence and for disarmament."

Several days before the Jubilee Plenum of the USSR Writers Union, in Moscow, there was a session of the 8th General Assembly of the International Association of Children's and Youth Theaters. In turning to the participants and guests of the assembly, K. U. Chernenko pointed out that the difference of views and convictions and different creative directions should not impede the main task of discovering the best ways for the aesthetic and moral indoctrination of the younger generation. Art must help people, primarily the younger generation, understand the world, value, protect and add to the beauty of this world, instill a belief in truth and justice and carry forward the ideas of peace and progress. "I hope," wrote K. U. Chernenko, "the subject of your forum 'The Role of the Children's and Youth Theater in Indoctrinating the Younger Generation in a Spirit of Peace, Humanism and Progress' will become the lodestar of your creativity."

Our creative intelligentsia and cultural workers can do a great deal in uniting the peace-loving forces, in bringing them together on an antiwar platform, and in helping their foreign colleagues in the solely correct choice in favor of peace and a peaceful, just resolution to all disputed questions.

Our creative intelligentsia is doing a great deal by their artistic works in unmasking the instigators of World War III and in propagandizing and explaining the consistent peace-loving Leninist policy of the Soviet Union. But, as was stated at the jubilee plenum, there is still much to be done. There must be new talented books, novels, films, performances and musical works which would aid the cause of patriotic, internationalist, military-patriotic indoctrination and would become a major event in the artistic life of the nation and in the development of the multinational Soviet artistic culture.

The workers of Soviet literature and art are the dependable assistants of the Communist Party in shaping the new man, the keen, searching, effective and

active builder of socialism. Inspired by the high praise for their labor given in the speech by K. U. Chernenko at the jubilee plenum, they will apply all their creative forces and abilities to raise our multinational culture to new heights and enrich the spiritual and creative potential of the Soviet people with new accomplishments in order to affirm by their works the truth of life, the true humanism and high ideals of socialism.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda". "Znanya". 1984

10272

CSO: 1830/135

NATIONAL

SOVIET ADMINISTRATIVE-TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE EXPLORED

Moscow SOVETSKY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 9, Sep 84 (signed to press 21 Aug 84) pp 101-102

[Review by Ye. Iodorskiy, candidate of juridical sciences, of book "Administrativno-territorial'noye ustroystvo Sovetskogo gosudarstva" [The Administrative-Territorial Structure of the Soviet State] by M. A. Shafir, "Nauka", Moscow, 1983, 176 pages: "An Important Problem of State Development"]

[Text] Successful realization of the tasks of economic and cultural development set by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of the party's central committee are organically linked with further consolidation of the Soviet state, the development of socialist democracy, and perfection of the scientific basis for managing the economic system.

In light of the party decisions, a study of the territorial aspects of administration, including problems of the administrative-territorial structure of the Soviet state, assumes considerable importance. The work by M. A. Shafir also is devoted to this topic.*

The value of the administrative-territorial structure, its principles and system, and the competence of the USSR and union republics in this area are shown in the book's large volume of factual material. The book examines in detail the trends and ways for further development of the administrative-territorial structure of the Soviet public state, taking into account the conditions and requirements of nature utilization.

The author thoroughly analyzes the historical experience of the Land of the Soviets in establishing a new administrative-territorial structure. In the graphic expression of V. I. Lenin, while the bourgeoisie, in coming to power, acquired "a crew that was already experienced," a crew prepared beforehand, and machinery tested previously, the proletariat when won power had "neither the crew nor the path, nothing generally, absolutely nothing that had been tried previously." The Communist Party and the Soviet country had to develop and test many state and legal institutions all over again.

*M. A. Shafir, "Administrativno-territorial'noye ustroystvo Sovetskogo gosudarstva," Moscow, "Nauka", 1983, 176 pages, price 1 ruble.

The book draws the conclusion that the task of rebuilding the territorial organization of the state in connection with the shift from capitalism to socialism is a universal law in the development of socialist countries. This historical necessity was brought about by radical changes in the socioeconomic system. The very nature of capitalist society, based on private property and exploitation of workers aimed at the extraction of superprofits by monopolistic associations, makes it impossible to have an administrative-territorial division which takes into account economic, national, and certain other factors, as well as the need to meet the workers' interests. The principles of the Soviet administrative-territorial structure are diametrically opposite. The book also provides a comprehensive interpretation of them. In the author's opinion, among these are: consideration of the economic and natural-historical conditions of different territories; reinforcement of the guiding role of the working class; consideration of the national composition and peculiarities of the population's everyday life; bringing the local organs of state authority and administration as close as possible to the people, which promotes consistent implementation of the tasks of developing socialist democracy; and meeting as fully as possible the social needs and cultural and everyday requirements of the working people.

The most important feature of the Soviet administrative-territorial structure, the author stresses, is its dynamism. Of course, the territorial organization serves as the basis of stable planned development of productive forces for the long-term future. However, adjustments are introduced into it if they have been caused by economic and social and public requirements. According to the author's data, a considerable number of such changes also have been introduced over the past 10 to 15 years. They were called into being by the establishment of new cities, the new geography of civil and industrial construction, the amalgamation of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and the unification of small settlements. It is sufficient to recall the rapid development of the West Siberian fuel and energy-producing region and construction of the Baykal-Amur Mainline.

The book examines in detail one of the foremost principles of Soviet administrative-territorial division--consideration of the national composition of the population and peculiarities of its everyday life. The author shows with numerous examples how all nationalities in our country have been ensured self-determination based on observance of their sovereign rights. Later on, with the building of socialism and reinforcement of migratory processes and more and more internationalization in the composition of the population, the need for new separation of nationally homogeneous rayons, settlements, rural soviets, and so forth became superfluous, not to mention the fact that the composition of the population had made such separation practically impossible. As a result, the role of the local soviets increased in international upbringing and in even greater rallying of the workers of all nationalities to resolve the tasks of economic and social construction.

K. U. Chernenko pointed out the urgency of this task of local soviets in his address at the April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: "The soviets, which have played a prominent role in eliminating national differences and strengthening fraternal friendship, should seriously examine the substance of

the national question in the form in which it exists under the conditions of developed socialism. After all, it is precisely this area where it is impossible to conduct fruitful work in any way other than on a collectivist, internationalist basis, taking all the minute details of the matter into account."

In the USSR, where there are more than 100 nations and nationalities, their peculiarities also will be taken into account in the future, in the course of improving the administrative-territorial structure which has taken shape and of strengthening interrepublic ties. This important condition, the book notes, ensuring equality of rights of nations and nationalities, provides for an account of their specific interests and requirements, and ensures further fraternal collaboration and mutual assistance of all peoples and consolidation of the USSR in every possible way.

The author examines the question of the necessity to perfect administrative-territorial division in a developed socialist society. Experience itself and the practice of economic and state management require new solutions in this area so that the existing administrative-territorial structure is based to a greater extent on economic regionalization and that the latter is formed on an objective, scientific basis. Implementation of measures directed at overcoming territorial dissociation, more flexible combination of sectorial and territorial administration, and an increase in the role of soviets of people's deputies must include resolution of territorial problems as well.

In the author's opinion, the establishment of territorial production complexes and industrial centers puts on the agenda the problem of extending the boundaries of districts which now exist in the European part of the USSR and the formation of new ones in the region of Siberia and the Far East. Discussion also is pressed on the question of working out new criteria for determining the dimensions of the modern rural rayon and rural soviet.

In evaluating M. A. Shafir's work favorably and in granting the scientific validity which is due to the conclusions and proposals contained in it, one cannot help but note individual inaccuracies as well. As an example, the author maintains that there are no planning organs in economic regions. That is incorrect. They were reestablished on a new organizational basis as far back as 2 years ago. The chairmen of planning commissions of the ispolkoms of kray and oblast soviets located in the territory of the economic region are included in their composition.

For the same reason, the book indicates that planning commissions are being formed under the ispolkoms of local soviets, although they are organs of these executive committees. Further, the author proposes that authority to establish and change a city and settlement boundary be assigned to the ispolkoms of oblast soviets. But after all, this authority has belonged to them for many years; this was once again confirmed in the 1970's in the union republics' land codes. Neither can we agree with the author's assertion that establishment of a city boundary is chiefly technical in nature and for this reason does not require "broad consideration of the people's opinion." After all, the question of urban territory--city, settlement or rural locality--a citizen lives in is in no way a matter of indifference to him and is not technical.

But these are exceptional shortcomings. On the whole, the work under review provides assistance both to practical workers engaged in solving problems of administrative-territorial division and to scientific staff members, as well as to anyone interested in the problems of Soviet state development.

COPYRIGHT: Zhurnal "Sovety narodnykh deputatov", 1984.

8936

CSO: 1800/104

NATIONAL

LEGAL STATUS OF AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC GOVERNMENTS EXAMINED

Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 9, Sep 84 (signed to press 21 Aug 84) pp 100-101

[Review by A. Atayev, doctor of economic sciences, and G. Gadzhiyev, candidate of juridical sciences, of monograph "Konstitutsionnyye osnovy pravovogo polozheniya Soveta Ministrov ASSR" [Constitutional Bases of the Legal Status of the ASSR Council of Ministers] by R. I. Tarnapol'skiy, Izdatel'stvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1983]

[Text] The new constitutions of autonomous republics and the laws on ASSR councils of ministers have raised a number of questions for juridical science concerning the status of an autonomous republic's government. The monograph by R. I. Tarnapol'skiy, "Constitutional Bases of the Legal Status of the ASSR Council of Ministers"*, is devoted to these very questions. Based on laws and other normative documents approved in recent years, the author examines the place of the ASSR council of ministers in the system of state organs of the autonomous republic and analyzes its relationship with USSR and union republic organs, with organizations of higher subordination located in the republic's territory, and with the ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies.

In revealing the essence of relations between the ASSR government and its supreme soviet, the author correctly notes that, although the council of ministers is the highest independent executive and administrative organ of state authority in the autonomous republic, it is accountable to its supreme soviet in all its activity. This is reflected in the law consolidating the principle of government's regular accountability to the supreme representative organ of state authority. In this regard, the author directs attention to such an effective form of supervision as a deputy's inquiry addressed to the council of ministers, ministers, and managers of other organs and departments formed by the ASSR supreme soviet.

The author's analysis of the basic forms of relationships between the ASSR council of ministers and organizations of higher subordination, since the Laws on Councils of Ministers of Autonomous Republics do not regulate them in detail,

*R. I. Tarnapol'skiy, "Konstitutsionnyye osnovy pravovogo polozheniya Soveta Ministrov ASSR," Izdatel'stvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1983, p 118, price 1 ruble 20 kopecks.

is of interest to practical workers. The author's characterization of relations between the ASSR council of ministers and a republic agricultural and industrial association also merits specific attention. The vitality and effectiveness of the new organ of administration which manages agriculture and other sectors of the autonomous republic's agricultural and industrial complex depend to a large extent on correct management of the association. The author stresses that with the assistance of the association's council, which has been provided with significant planning-coordination and supervisory powers, the republic's government has the opportunity to reinforce its influence on the activity of organizations of higher subordination and thereby resolve the problems facing it more successfully.

Much space is devoted in the monograph--and this is completely justified, in our view--to consideration of the procedure for formation and composition of an autonomous republic's government. The fact is that a listing of the managers of sectorial and functional organs of administration which become part of the government is not provided in the autonomous republics' new constitutions. The author proposes that the status be considered correct where composition of an ASSR council of ministers may include not only the managers of administration organs formed by the supreme soviet, but by the government itself as well. Not without foundation, moreover, he believes that it may also include the chiefs of republic (ASSR) production administrations, such as the production administration for highway construction and operation, for example.

The monograph also examines the procedure for assigning and including individual officials in the composition of the government, particularly those who administer the affairs of the ASSR council of ministers. The author maintains that they should be assigned by the supreme soviet, and by the presidium in the period between sessions, not by the government. The author supports his position with norms contained in the laws of autonomous republics on ASSR councils of ministers and regulations of their supreme soviets. Such considerations are important, for the formulation of a statute on administration of affairs still has not been completed at this time.

R. I. Tarnapol'skiy's monograph covers a broad range of questions. They are not all analyzed with the same thoroughness. At times much unwarranted attention is devoted to historical problems without interpreting them critically, which leads to a simple exposition of the articles of constitutions and laws and different normative documents and cannot be sufficient argument in favor of any of the author's positions or conclusions.

It is necessary to note the discrepancy in the author's position in analyzing the question concerning interrelations between the ASSR government and the higher organs of power of the union republic. By not sharing the opinion regarding the dual subordination of the ASSR government, he maintains in one instance that "the ASSR council of ministers is not directly subordinate to the union republic's council of ministers," and in another case on the same page: "the ASSR council of ministers is linked by relationships of subordination with the government of the union republic" (p 32).

The author also permits individual inaccuracies. For example, he points out that "the council of ministers or a member of the council of ministers is obliged to give an oral or written response at a session of the ASSR supreme soviet within a 3-day period" (p 14). Meanwhile, the constitutions of autonomous republics and the regulations of ASSR supreme soviets contain only the directive that a deputy's inquiry must be presented at a given session of the autonomous republic's supreme soviet.

On the whole, R. I. Tarnapol'skiy's monograph is a serious theoretical study. It is useful not only for scientific and practical workers of the Soviet state apparatus, but everyone interested in nationality state development in the USSR, to read it.

COPYRIGHT: Zhurnal "Sovety narodnykh deputatov", 1984.

8936

CSO: 1800/104

NATIONAL

COUNCIL ON RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS' DUTIES DESCRIBED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 85 p 3

[Text] Chairman of the Council on Religious Affairs Under the USSR Council of Ministries

Konstantin Mikaylovich Kharchev is 50 years old. From the age of 4 he was raised in the "Tenth Anniversary of October" orphanage in Gorkiy. He is an engineer by education and a candidate of economic science. For many years he was a manager in the Primorskiy Kray. Recently he was the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Cooperative Republic of Guyana.

The Council on Religious Affairs is a special organ in the Soviet Government, whose main task is to supervise the implementation of the constitutional principle of freedom of conscience, the proper putting into practice of laws relating to the activity of religious societies without any type of intervention in their internal life. The church in our country is separate from the state, and the Council brings about a connection between the government of the USSR and religious organizations when questions arise which need to be resolved on a state level.

The council's decrees on issues which enter into its scope are compulsory for republican and kray, as well as oblast and other, local organs of power. Its representatives, who, in their work are directly subordinate to the council, work in union and autonomous republics, krays and oblasts.

CSO: 1830/247

NATIONAL

BAPTIST YOUTH CONFERENCE URGES STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

LD211621 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 21 Jan 85

["To Struggle for Peace and Justice"--TASS headline]

[Text] Kiev, 21 Jan (TASS)--Aware of the Christian responsibility for safeguarding life on earth, we urge our churches and particularly youth to wage the struggle for peace and justice, says a statement adopted by participants in a conference of youth secretaries of European Baptist unions which ended in the Ukrainian capital.

The statement says people all over the world celebrate this year the 40th anniversary of peoples' liberation from the fascist yoke which had brought the horror of death and destruction.

The participants in the conference expressed concern over the fact that mankind is now faced with the danger of a still greater catastrophe. The statement urges young people to oppose the forces promoting the arms race, outbreak of nuclear war. Young representatives of Baptist unions of 19 countries proclaimed their approval of agreement on new talks between the USSR and the United States on nuclear and space arms, expressed support for the idea of creating nuclear-free zones in Europe and other parts of the world as an initial step toward general and complete disarmament.

The Kiev meeting of young Baptists has become another step in the solution of most important problems of the present, a TASS correspondent was told by president of the Youth Committee of the European Baptist Federation (EBF), Uwe Kuhne of the FRG.

He stressed that the success of the conference had been largely promoted by the excellent conditions created for its holding in the Ukrainian capital.

Participants in the conference were present at services for Baptist congregations of Kiev. They inspected the exposition of the memorial complex "The Ukrainian State Museum of History of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945," saw architectural and historic monuments of the ancient city on the Dnieper.

CSO: 1830/245

NATIONAL

SOVIET SCHOOL REFORMS REVISED

[Editorial Report] SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA on 29 December on page 3 carries under the rubric "School Today and Tomorrow" a 1,200-word article by T. Kutsenko, deputy chairman of RSFSR Goskomizdat, entitled "For Students and Instructors." The article summarizes the republic's school reforms for the past year (1984). The major focus of the article was on reform in the quantity and quality of textbook publications. The author writes that the republic received 180 million textbooks for the first 10 grades; reading books, instructional books, and classical prose published by Prosveshcheniye Publishing House, which also supplied all the experimental teaching material for the 6-year-old school children for the new program conducted by the RSFSR Ministry since 1981. Matros and Azimut, two East Siberian publishing houses, have been publishing teaching material for the pre-school age group. New technical textbooks have also been published, such as "The Biography of Ural Industry." At least 19 new professional textbooks have been published to satisfy the demand for courses on economy, and there are plans for others. The publishing houses are sensitive to school needs and try to meet their requirements, the author writes. For example, Prosveshcheniye published 300 thousand teaching manuals for teachers on the "Ethics and the Psychology of Family Life." Additional textbooks on the subject are being prepared by the Central Urals Publishing House--"The Family" and "The Bibliography of Family Reading." Young readers will also have greater access to the 10-volumed work on "The Life of Lenin," the author adds. Problems remain, however, Kutsenko notes. Schools are unable to purchase appropriate textbooks because of insufficient funds in the school budget, and the publishing industry--polygraphy--does not always meet the necessary requirements in the quality of paper, binding materials and film.

COMPUTERS IN THE CLASSROOM

[Editorial Report] SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA, under the same rubric "School Today and Tomorrow," on 25 December 1984 on page 3 carries 1,600-word related article on the future use of IBM personal computers in the classroom. The article, entitled "IBM Behind the Desk," recounts the history of the computer in Soviet schools, by pointing out that special schools on the Soviet Union have had computer literacy since the 60's. Computer programming was introduced as an integral part of algebra in the 70's to the eight graders. Beginning with September of next year, all schools and professional and technical colleges (PTU) will introduce a new compulsory computer course, "Computer Technology and Programming," the article states. This is, of course, theory. The author of the article is less certain about the practice--namely the arrival of the IBM computer in the schools. "When the actual computer

will arrive in the schools is still only hypothetical," the article continues. "The numbers and prospects are as follows: in the next 5 year period, we are planning to organize computer centers (a local network of 15-20 IBM personal computers) in 200 high schools and 300 educational-production complexes. By the year 2000, we plan to create 70,000 computer centers which will provide computer education to all high schools and all the professional and technical colleges." The article expresses the opinion that this time span is much too long.

CSO: 1830/244

REGIONAL

SHCHERBITSKIY ADDRESSES KIEV PARTY FUNCTIONARIES

AU171637 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Jan 85 pp 1-2

[RATAU report on speech delivered by V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, at the 12 January meeting of Kiev basic party organization secretaries--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Comrades: Last year was rich in many important events in the life of our party and country. /As a result of the purposeful work performed by the party, its Central Committee and Politburo headed by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and as a result of the fruitful work of the Soviet people, the might of the state and its economic and defense potential are constantly growing and the prosperity of our people is rising./

Basic party organizations have a paramount role in the practical pursuit of party policy, in the party's links with the masses. And both Kiev Gorkom and other party bodies are right to systematically examine concrete tasks concerning party political work directly with secretaries of basic party organizations.

In the current year, /the CPSU has entered the period of direct preparations for its 27th congress which will be an important and truly historic event in the life of the party and the country./ As is known, the congress is expected to adopt a new edition of the CPSU program, and to make the necessary amendments to the party statutes. The congress will also determine the country's long-term socioeconomic development for the 12th 5-Year Plan period and up to the year 2000.

/A number of important theoretical theses and practical recommendations for improving developed socialism have been set forth in K. U. Chernenko's article published in the last 1984 issue of the journal KOMMUNIST./

/The political situation,/ Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized, /is good, businesslike, and stable both in our republic and all over the country. The present preparations for the elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet and to the local soviets of people's deputies are also evidence of this./

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, government, as well as local party, administrative, trade union, and Komsomol organizations are persistently working to fulfill the socioeconomic development plans traced by the 26th CPSU Congress, our party's Central Committee plenums, and the 26th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress.

Having noted that the republic's Central Statistical Administration would shortly publish in detail the results of the work performed in 1984, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy touched upon some most important issues.

In industry, production and labor productivity were growing at significantly higher rates than planned, and their absolute increase was higher than in any other year of the current 5-year period. The value of production marketed in excess of the plan totaled R2 billion, and the increased labor productivity accounted for 85 percent of the increase in production. In the current 5-year period, these indexes were the highest, too.

All production facilities and projects of importance were put into operation. The plans were overfulfilled for the commissioning of houses, children's preschool establishments, general-education and vocational schools, hospitals, and polyclinics.

Although, in agriculture, last year was not very generous, the republic obtained the highest volume of overall production. The output of grain increased, and the plans for procuring stockbreeding produce were overfulfilled. Compared with 1983, the procurements of meat rose by 127,000 tons, those of milk by 342,000 tons, and those of eggs by 207 million. This has made it possible to increase the market stocks of these types of produce.

However, we view the situation in a realistic way, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy said, we evaluate the results attained critically, and we can see reserves that have not been utilized. There are no grounds, and of course must not be any, for complacency.

/The main task now confronting party organizations and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee is to mobilize all communists and all working people for successful and intensive work in the current year. Positive trends in economic development are to be consolidated and strengthened, and a firm foundation is to be provided for fulfilling the plans of the 12th 5-year period.

Speaking in more specific terms, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee noted, the impending tasks can be briefly formulated in the following way. In addition to constant concern for strengthening low-level cells organizationally and politically and for keeping party ranks clean, party organizations must concentrate their efforts:

/--in production collectives--/ on the fulfillment of the socialist pledges adopted;

/--in the sphere of services--/ on improvements in the quality and efficiency of services;

and /--in administrative bodies--/ on fostering state and executive discipline, and on eradicating deceit, formalism, and red tape.

Each leading functionary in the state apparatus, in scientific and production collectives should be perfectly aware of and discharge his immediate duties (particularly in preparing and adopting administrative decisions), should not duplicate the others in their duties, and should bear personal responsibility for the state of affairs in the entrusted sector. Of course, party committees must accomplish all impending tasks by the methods inherent in the bodies of political leadership, and must observe the principles of authentic, businesslike collectivism.

For each party organization, a task of paramount importance is to /accelerate scientific-technical progress/, because there is no other way to radically raise the effectiveness of production.

The city party organization and the inhabitants of Kiev have to their credit the fact that they have initiated the creation of new effective forms of tightening the links between science and production, and of widely engaging scientists from academic and branch institutes, as well as from higher educational establishments, in settling topical problems. Approved by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, a number of valuable initiatives made by Kiev enterprises to rapidly develop and adopt new equipment and technologies have been spread in other regions of the republic and beyond its borders.

All this has produced significant results. Kiev has been successful in fulfilling the plans and socialist pledges for adopting new equipment and technologies, and has attained high rates in raising labor productivity and reducing production costs. For example, by applying low-waste technologies and progressive consumption norms, Kiev enterprises are now saving annually 30 percent more metal, 36 percent more cement, and nearly 2.5 times more timber.

In attaining these results, a great role was played by the persistent and successful work performed by the city's party organizations.

However, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy said, what has been achieved is now insufficient. It should be frankly admitted that the city's great scientific and production potential still has not been fully utilized. Life calls on us to accelerate scientific-technical progress, figuratively speaking, on the entire front.

On what should party organizations and their secretaries concentrate their attention?

/Above all./ on reducing manual labor. No one can be happy at the fact that the proportion of Kiev workers engaged in unproductive manual labor is still significant and is shrinking too slowly. Particularly slow to modernize are construction and housing and municipal services, in which the proportion of manual work is much larger than the city's average.

It is evident that the problem is still acute. Some efforts are being made to settle it. But they are clearly insufficient. For example, the enterprises are very slow in introducing robots and manipulators.

However, Kiev is the location of the Cybernetics Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, which ranks among the country's largest, the polytechnical, construction, and other institutes, as well as many branch scientific research organizations. Concentrated in Kiev, there is a large number of industrial enterprises supplying tools and electronic equipment. These enterprises can and should contribute a substantial share in accomplishing tasks connected with the reduction of manual labor. Things are also going badly in the field of applying computing equipment, and this fact calls for appropriate measures.

/Point two,/ a basically new attitude must be taken toward the economy of material resources. After all, at the present stage of national economic development thrift in material outlays is an important factor to ensure production growth, a condition indispensable to cope with the planned targets, and an important guideline for rational management. Each basic party organization should possess a clear-cut plan for fulfilling the pledge adopted by labor collectives--to work at least 2 days in the current year on saved resources.

/Moreover,/ particular attention is to be paid to the utilization of the results of completed scientific-technical papers. It is no secret that, in the "science-production" chain, this is still the weakest spot.

As is known, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has set the task, toward the end of the 12th 5-Year Plan period, to increase the national economic effect at least 50 percent rapidly developing and applying in the national economy progressive technologies and new equipment, to bring it to a total of R.5-5 billion annually, and to save R1.8-2 billion by applying inventions and rationalizing proposals.

This goal is fully feasible. The republic possesses great possibilities and reserves for attaining it. After all, many technical innovations have been applied only at individual enterprises. Some papers by Kiev scientists, papers that have already proved to be highly effective--for example, the method of diffusion, vacuum, and plasma spray-coating, and some others--have found no broad application even in Kiev enterprises and associations. One of the 45 academic scientific institutions located in Kiev, only 17 are participating in carrying out city programs. Apparently, both in institutes and at industrial enterprises there are still leaders who pay lip service to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, but do next to nothing for it.

/Party organizations--each in its sector--must significantly intensify their work to hasten the application of scientific and technical achievements, rationalizing proposals, and leading experience/. We have everything needed for this purpose.

Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy then touched upon another /task of importance/: improving the quality of work. This is a multi-form problem that also applies to all party organizations. I have in mind not only the design and the technological aspects, nor the fact that improvements are needed both in management and labor organization. /The point is to provide economic and organizational conditions which will stimulate highly productive labor, initiative, and the creativity of the masses./

As far as quality of production itself is concerned, the inhabitants of Kiev are able to attain more ambitious marks. For example, it is known that the Bolshevik production association supplies 98 percent of its certified production with high-quality marks. At the Mayak association this share amounts to 95 percent, at the Ukrainian cable plant 76 percent, and at the relay and automatic equipment plant 65 percent, but in Kiev industries as a whole, this share amounts to only 50 percent.

And why should we not set and accomplish the task, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy said, /of supplying practically all production with state quality marks?/ Certainly, this task is not simple, but I think it is now within the powers of front-ranking collectives. Therefore, their party organizations should take these questions under constant control, should increase exactingness to leaders and specialists.

As is known, the problem of the quality of /consumer goods/ has now become particularly important. Unfortunately, it must be noted that in this respect things are not quite well at many Kiev enterprises. The Darnitsa and the Kiev silk combines have lost some of their previous positions. From the city enterprises life requires better cameras, motor cycles, and garments. Party organizations at the appropriate enterprises must draw serious conclusions from this, and must make full use of their authority to control administrative activity.

An important reserve for improving the quality of work lies in the high qualifications of cadres and in good organization, discipline, efficiency, and order in production. Good examples in this respect have been set by many labor collectives of the republic's capital city. This applies to the Kiev Radio Plant Association with Comrade Gaznyuk as party committee secretary; the S. P. Korolev production association with Comrade Yeklema as party committee secretary; the chemical fiber association with Comrade Pichkurov as party committee secretary; the electronic machine association with Comrade Yerokhin as party committee secretary; the Kiev food machines association with Comrade Kopyl as party committee secretary; the Kiev production association with Comrade Poryvay as party committee secretary; the Kiyevlyanka factory with Comrade Sorokotyaga as party committee secretary; the Ye. O. Paton Electric Welding Institute with Comrade Ishchenko as party committee secretary; and many others.

But in some collectives, the work conducted to foster discipline and order has recently begun to wane and decline. Apparently, some people have forgotten that this was not a short campaign, but a daily concern shouldered by party organizations, their committees, bureaus, secretaries, and each communist.

Of course, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy continued, all matters which should be constantly attended to by party organizations to turn the republic's capital into a city of highly productive labor, high efficiency, and model public order cannot be exhausted even in a lengthy speech.

/The main point is that to successfully accomplish the tasks set, we must first of all raise the effectiveness of organizational and political educational work in basic party organizations on which our party stands. Second, we need a serious psychological change in approach to the matter at hand, to the style and methods of work performed by our cadres, above all by the leading ones./

Unfortunately, while settling cadre problems individual superior bodies to not always lend an ear to the opinion of basic party organizations, and sometimes even disregard it. This is the reason why some enterprises, organizations, and projects are run for years by people who are unfit for this purpose, while the talented and promising find, as they say, no chance. The point is to always have an effective cadres reserve, primarily in the basic, decisive, and particularly in lagging sectors.

/The city's party organizations are expected to pay more attention to--and must exert real and effective influence on--the selection, distribution, and education of cadres,/ particularly of the middle-bracket ones--shop and section chiefs, foremen, and brigade leaders. After all, they are in charge of the sectors that determine the destinies of the plans, realize the ideas of scientists and designers, and shape the final result.

We must also increase the responsibility of leading functionaries, particularly of communists, for the discharge of their duties, and must bring to strict account those found guilty of indifference, mismanagement, and the more so those guilty of abuses, of infringements upon the rules of party and public life. In this respect, our position is unambiguous: in party ranks, and the more so in leading posts, there must be no room for those who infringe on these rules, who place the interests of personal prosperity above the interests of the party and our society.

Today, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized, we must also touch upon a sector as important as that of /ideological and political education work./ After the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, a great deal has been done to raise its effectiveness. But let us be frank, there things are also still a long way from being satisfactory.

First of all, the gap between propaganda and agitation on the one hand, and life with its basic, real problems on the other, still has not been bridged everywhere. After all, the purpose of propaganda and educational work is not to take as many measures as possible, to deliver many speeches, and to display many posters and slogans, but to set in motion the creative forces inherent in the labor and political activity of the masses, and to achieve a concrete improvement in matters.

In routine work it is highly important to cultivate--both within oneself and among the activists--the ability to evaluate the situation in a realistic way, to respond correctly and on time to proposals and critical remarks made by the communists and non-party members, to take into account public opinion, and to speak to people calmly, in a businesslike way, and to the point, without shunning acute problems disturbing them. In that case our words will find more understanding and will be accepted more profoundly and fully.

Naturally enough, in ideological educational work one must avoid narrow pragmatism. People must constantly and painstakingly be taught to think in broad socio-economic and political categories, taught--so to speak--to broaden their horizons, to see the lofty purpose of their daily toil, to see its inseparable link with life and with the affairs of the entire country.

/Every toiler must be well aware that the strategic task of improving developed socialism is also being accomplished at his enterprise, and not somewhere beyond the clouds./ This is precisely an attitude which inspires people for social activity and stimulates them to increase their contribution to the common cause. And it is only natural that the CPSU Central Committee has called our attention to the growing role of the human factor under the present conditions.

For V. I. Lenin, as N. K. Krupskaya recalled, the workers and the peasants were not abstract "objects of propaganda," but living people capable of thinking over many things and requiring attention to their needs.

The level of our people's education, information, and consciousness has now risen significantly. And this fact increases requirements involving the substance, arguments, forms, and methods of propaganda. What educational work requires today is more friendliness, tactfulness, one may say more psychological refinement and differentiation.

The old fashioned way in work has to be scrapped. Sometimes people say: "It used to be so." But time has passed, and conditions and needs have changed. We must resolutely get rid of stereotypes. Like in the other sectors of their activity, party organizations are expected to be constantly searching, to be able to determine the most important links and to concentrate on them their main forces and attention.

In connection with this, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy noted the need to intensify political vigilance. We must oppose subversive propaganda conducted by the ideological adversary in all fields. /This means that we must not only be able to speak convincingly about our achievements, to advertise party policy, but also to reasonably unmask the class enemy with his lies./

What we need is to tighten control--not only in word but also in deed--over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption, and must create an atmosphere of irreconcilability to offenses against the rules of socialist society. And, of course, a due rebuff must be given to unscrupulousness, philistine grumbling, and ill-intentioned rumors.

Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy then briefly touched upon questions concerning the present /international situation,/ and noted the great importance of A. A. Gromyko's meeting with the U.S. secretary of state. The first step has been made--during the meeting, the subject and objectives of the forthcoming talks were examined.

The Soviet Union is prepared to conduct these talks on an equal and realistic basis, is in favor of a constructive dialogue, and is for reaching agreements that would be in line with the interests of both countries and that would radically lower the level of confrontation.

The guarantee of peace lies not only in a weighed, realistic foreign policy and in the struggle waged for it by the wide public, but also in the highly productive work performed by all our people to strengthen the economic and defense potential of their homeland.

/Party organizations have the duty to systematically and profoundly explain our party's domestic and foreign policy, the principled line taken by the Soviet Union to avert a nuclear war, discontinue the arms race, prevent the militarization of outer space, improve the international climate, and raise the prosperity of the people./

At the end Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy said: The communists have invested in each of us, comrades, great confidence. To spearhead a party organization is a difficult and painstaking job implying enormous responsibility and at the same time a great honor. After all, it is no secret at all: The entire situation in the labor collective largely depends on the qualities of the party bureau or party committee secretary as a functionary, an organizer, an educator and, if you want, as a personality; it depends on the work of the bureau and the party committee.

About one-fifth of the comrades present in the hall have for the first time been elected secretaries in their party organizations. They must be told not only /what/ is to be done and /when/, but without fail must also be told and shown /how/ it is to be done.

It is important to value and save the time of party organization secretaries, because we are all constantly short of time. It is a duty of senior colleagues, raykoms, gorkoms, obkoms, and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to help young functionaries turn into authentic party leaders.

Allow me, esteemed comrades, to wish you, all communists and working people of the hero city of Kiev, success in completing the plans for the current 5-year period and meeting our Leninist party's 27th congress in a worthy way.

CSO: 1800/143

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN CP HOLDS CONFERENCE ON DISCIPLINE

GF211701 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 15 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] The tasks of the party control bodies regarding the further strengthening of party and state discipline and the struggle against the violations of communist morality were reviewed recently during the conference held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Chairmen and deputy chairmen of party commissions of gorkoms and raykoms participated.

S. Khachatryan, chairman of the party commission of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech.

The speech reflected on the primary tasks of the party control bodies in light of the party's economic and social policy, the decisions of the October 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the instructions and assessments mentioned in the speeches of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his address during the 15 November 1984 session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. It was pointed out that the party commission of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee has done notable work in the realization of control and the verification of the implementation of the adopted decisions. Their activities are further strengthened toward the supervision of the fulfillment of the party's plans and laws, the reinforcement of appropriate party and state discipline of our social activities, and the undeviated implementation of the party and government decisions.

The speech gave considerable importance to increasing the role and responsibility of the leading cadres of the control sector and ensuring the productivity of the party commissions activities. This is required by the constant economic and social development of the country and the republic and the interests in strengthening the party and state approach to the organization of the investigations and the struggle against anything detrimental to party morality and the Soviet way of life.

The conference outlined the importance of giving active assistance to the primary organizations and raising their capability and principled attitude in the expansion of the activities of the party commissions, the ensurance of their public work, and the establishment of supervision over the administration's activities.

The conference was addressed by the following chairmen of party commissions of gorkoms and raykoms: G. Shatvoryan (Yerevan), G. Arakelyan (Leninakan), A. Grigoryan (Koris), N. Stepanyan (Ichevan), L. Melkumyan (Yerevan Orchonikidze Rayon), A. Shashikyan (Abovyan), D. Movsesyan (Stepanavan), A. Gevorgyan (Echmiadzin), and E. Arutyunyan (Oktemberyan).

Conference results were summed up by G. Voskanyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Comrade G. Voskanyan talked about the concrete tasks of the party commissions toward the perfection of developed socialism, outlined the need for further improvement in the style and methods of control work, and the expansion of its precautionary potential, and referred to the ardent questions pertaining to increasing the standard of supervision by party committees over activities of the commissions. Conference participants assured the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee that the party control members are determined to justify the party's great trust in them, to establish appropriate party and state law and order in all public production locations and all sectors of life activity, and to make their worthwhile contribution to the struggle for the successful fulfillment of the 11th 5-Year Plan targets.

The conference was attended by L. Saakyan, candidate member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chief of the Central Committee's organizational party work department, and M. Davtyan, chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee administrative organs department.

CSO: 1838/33

REGIONAL

YEREVAN SESSION ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

GF221608 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 15 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] The Yerevan economic and social development plans for the last year of the 5-year plan period were reviewed at the 10th session of the 18th convocation of the people's deputies soviet of Yerevan City. It was held on 14 December at the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet sessions hall.

The session was opened by M. Muradyan, candidate member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Yerevan City Soviet Executive Committee.

Deputy A. Barkhudarova, deputy chairman of the Yerevan City Soviet Executive Committee and chairman of the planning commission, delivered a speech on the Yerevan economic and social development state plan for 1985 and the implementation of the 1984 state plan.

Deputy G. Movsesyan, chief of the Yerevan City Soviet Executive Committee Financial Department, delivered a speech on the 1985 budget draft for Yerevan city and the fulfillment of the 1983 budget.

L. Galumyan, deputy chairman of the planning and budget commission, delivered a speech on the state plan and budget. Views were exchanged on the speeches.

It was noted that the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee plenums following the Congress, as well as the instructions and evaluations mentioned in the speech of Comrade K. U. Chernenko during the 15 November 1985 session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which point out the ardent issues of the economic policy, are a plan for the activities of Yerevan workers. Thanks to the substantial organizational, political and educational work of the party, soviet, and economic organizations, the work collectives of Yerevan have achieved considerable success in developing the capital's economy and raising the workers' standard of living. According to the initial accounts the city's industry will fulfill the 1984 output production plan by 103.2 percent and the output sales plan by 102 percent. By the end of the year, R100.3 million worth of output over the plan will be produced

and R67 million worth of output over the plan will be sold. The industrial output volume will increase by 4 percent compared to 1983 figures, and during the 4 years of the 5-year plan period will increase by 18.4 percent against the projected 14.8 percent.

The achievements will be further reinforced in 1985. The state plan for the last year of the 5-year plan period projects the stable progress of national economy, the speed-up of scientific and technical progress, the intensification of production and raising of its efficiency, the constant realization of the food program, and the further promotion of the people's standard of living. The industrial production volume of the city will increase by 3.9 percent next year, basically through fuller and more rational use of the production capabilities and increased labor productivity.

In 1985, R606.8 million will be allocated to the city's national economy from all financing sources. Of this, R329 million will be allocated for the construction of production installations.

The most important social issue which is being constantly resolved in the city is housing construction. Plans are to commission 450,500 square meters of residential area, or 6.8 percent more than in 1984, during the next year. A total of R70 million from all financing sources will be allocated to the city soviet executive committee for this purpose. The construction of "Davdashen" residential area will begin and the construction of the seventh, eighth, and ninth sections of the Nork District will continue. The city's electric transport will further develop. Plans are to extend the tramway and trolleybus lines by 19 km. Through the commissioning of "Shengavit" station the overall length of the Yerevan subway will increase by 1.5 km. The heat supply chain will expand considerably. Over 59,000 houses will be supplied with hot water, 15.1 percent more than in 1984.

Work will be carried out to improve the city water supply. The construction will continue of the two pipelines transporting water from Ararat field to the city. The length of the water pipelines and sewages will increase by over 63 km.

The network of schools and juvenile and preschool establishments will increase notably. Plans are to commission schools next year to accommodate 7,734 students and kindergartens for 3,310 children. A total of R14.9 million will be allocated for health care development. The number of hospital beds will increase by 1,224 places. Extensive work will be carried out to reform the city and expand the trade and consumers services installations network.

The city's agriculture will develop basically through the increase of production from cultivated crops, organized work, and the rational use of technology. In 1985 gross volume of agricultural products output will stand at R28.5 million.

The session unanimously adopted a decision on the "Yerevan 1985 socioeconomic development plan and the fulfillment of the 1984 state plan." The 1985 budget for Yerevan City and the account on the fulfillment of the 1983 budget were established.

The Yerevan city soviet session was attended by Comrades B. Sarkisov, L. Nersessyan, and R. Arzumanyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN CLERIC GIVES CHRISTMAS ADDRESS

GF201430 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 5 Jan 85 pp 1, 2

[Christmas sermon by Vazgeni, Catholicos of all Armenians, at the Holy Echmiadzin Church in Armenian SSR 6 January 1985]

[Excerpts] In the name of God and His Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen.

Our dear religious children. The years and centuries are passing, the generations are following each other, human life is constantly moving with the current of time, historic events are continuously taking place, the probing and creative mind of the man is constantly producing brave achievements, and above all these the light of Jesus shines as an eternal radiation of love, justice, and peace and to give a spiritual meaning and moral aim to the life of men and history.

The good news of each holy Christmas is a spiritual rebirth for each believer when he welcomes it with the desire to be renewed spiritually, throwing away his human weaknesses and imperfections.

Every holy Christmas is a mighty shield and weapon of victory against evil and sin. The good news of every holy Christmas is the supreme pledge for the coming resurrection.

Thus, dear religious people in Armenia and the entire diaspora with prayers and psalms open up your hearts and sweetly accept the great news of the miraculous birth of Christ.

Our sacred prayer for the peace of the souls of the martyrs of the great genocide of 1915 is a good and just work for our mother church and the children of our people. The 70th anniversary the genocide will be commemorated with special ceremonies on 24 April in the fatherland and all over the Armenian diaspora with pan-Armenian unity.

The commemoration of the holy memory of our martyrs is a day of mourning, prayer, and pilgrimage as well as a day of national reinforcement with the bright awareness that by overcoming death, the Armenian people in the past few decades formed a new era of rebirth and flourishing in their motherland and the mountainside of Ararat giving life, inspiration, and hope to their entire children spread throughout the world.

Our church and entire people particularly the Armenian SSR citizens will commemorate the 70th anniversary of the great genocide in conditions of peace and security, strengthened with national awareness, new patriotic achievements and creative work, new songs, and hopes toward our brighter and just future.

When we commemorate the great tragedy of our people we must keep the hostile spirit or the thought of extremist acts away from us. Our sole spiritual drive should be to pray for the souls of our 2 million martyrs and demand justice as well as the wish that such tragedies will not be repeated in the life of any nation. To forget the tragedies of the past will mean to weaken and obscure the memory of the humanity, obliterate history, distort the truth, and strangle the voice of justice. It will pave the way for new tragedies and future genocides.

The strict judgment of the past tragedies, the revelation of the truth of the sad events of history and the loud and free sounding of the voice of justice; these are the strong bases for the construction of a new world where the children of all nations will reach the awareness that they are the children of the same God, are the citizens of the same world, and that all have the same destiny. The destiny of man, nations, and the world particularly after today will be one fact, one imperative, and one future. Only with this knowledge will the world people be able to unitedly pray.

In the great family of fraternal nationalities let our reborn people and flourishing fatherland grow and develop freely and happily through the path of constant construction and flourishing always with songs and light, peace, and happiness.

From the Mother See of all Armenians in holy Echmiadzin we greet and bless our entire apostolic church and religious people with the great news of the holy Christmas. Happy New Year. "Christ was born and revealed." Amen.

CSO: 1838/32

REGIONAL

WESTERN USE OF CLERICAL ISLAMIC ANTICOMMUNISM

Baku SOVET KENDI in Azeri 4 Dec 84 p 2

/Article by Asadulla Gurbanov, a docent at the Azerbaijan State University imeni S. M. Kirov and a candidate of the philosophical sciences:
"Islamic Clericalism in the Service of Imperialism"/

/Text/ Recently bourgeois propaganda has been making wide use of clerical Islamic anticommunism in the struggle against the USSR and the countries of the socialist community. As is well-known, clericalism is a reactionary trend in capitalist countries aimed at strengthening the authority of religious organizations in political and cultural life. In other words, it is one of the fiercest forms by which religion, including Islam, and the activity of its organizations are used in the interests of imperialism and reaction. Clerical Islamic anticommunism's main target of attack is Marxism as well as scientific atheism, which combines in itself the philosophical teachings of Marxism about Islam. The apologists of reactionary clerical anticommunism, in establishing ties with the Sunni and Shiite sects of Islam as well as other trends, want to unite them into a single front against "the common enemy, materialism and atheism." And this, in essence, is characteristic of the struggle against socialism, communism, and social progress.

The reactionary centers of Islamic clerical anticommunism basically attack scientific atheism from three viewpoints. First, they contrast their own reactionary concepts in a very subtle way to Marxism, scientific atheism, and social progress while glossing over the Sunni and Shiite sects of Islam which are undergoing a crisis at the present time. Secondly, clerical Islamic anticommunists, not content merely with a criticism of the theoretical problems of scientific atheism, also open fire on its practical direction, for example, on its struggle for peace. At the same time they come out against the policy of our party and the Soviet government concerning its relations with Islam, the mosque, and the followers of Islam and falsify it to an incredible degree. Thirdly, they strive to hamper the unification of contemporary international processes into a single front, including the unification of contemporary international processes into a single front, including

the unification of all progressive forces in a positive resolution of the most important political problems of social development. They claim that in order to preserve the peace; peoples, nations, and national-ethnic groups must unite under the banner of Islam regardless of their culture, race, language, worldview, ideological belief, or connection with religion and that if there is a single drawing power providing this very unity and unanimity, it can only and exclusively be the Islamic religion and the "just Islamic society." In this respect clericalist Islamic anticommunists echo their Western colleagues, the Catholic clericalists. Just such a reactionary thesis was first put forth by the Catholic Church and its teachings, or to be more accurate, by the Roman Pope John Paul II.

But at the same time they do not even utter a word about how the reactionary circles of international imperialism headed by the USA threaten humanity with a nuclear war, about how they seek to achieve hegemony on the sea, on the land, and in space, about how they cause a thousand and one catastrophes in Latin America and in the Near and Middle East, and about how they have grossly violated the ordinary norms of international law, because this is not in their interests and does not profit them any. They fear that by such a thing they may be subjected to the economic anger and wrath of their "uncles" and colleagues in the West.

For their part, the ruling circles of Western imperialism headed by the USA are giving special significance to making use of Islam in order to preserve their influence in Eastern countries and to halt the ideas of socialism and communism. And thus Islamic clericalism emerges as the same kind of thing as Christian clericalist anticommunism. Bourgeois ideologists, including bourgeois scholars of religion, and those same apologists who have taken on as an obligation the task of defending Islam from "the danger of materialism," from "communist and Soviet aggression," and from "state, communist, red, or political atheism" are holding special "scientific" conferences and congresses dedicated to the defense, glorification, and praise of Islam. The first sponsors, so to speak, of this in the East are the Islamic Conference. This organization has put forth the concept of a "renaissance in Islam." In this concept the idealization of Islam, above all, serves its goals of political and ideological struggle. Apropos of this, we would like to discuss another matter here. And that is that the concept of a "renaissance in Islam" is on the one hand not very much in the interests of the imperialist circles of the West, because the notion is opposed to the Western-style developmental model and to Christianity. But on the other hand it harbors the aim of creating a "political opposition" of believing Muslims against Soviet construction and of inflaming religious and nationalistic feelings. It is this idea in particular that attracts confirmed anti-Soviets. The American bourgeois Islamicists (Diana) and (Spirme) /as transliterated/ in their work "The Muslims of Russia" write about what

would be good: the "Islamic renaissance" which has brought so much misfortune down upon the heads of the West should turn and become a hindrance to the countries of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union. It is also possible to encounter views of this type in the "investigations" of the French bourgeois Islamicist Helene Carrere d'Encausse. The Egyptian Jamal Hamdan, who sings the same tune as the above-mentioned bourgeois Islamicists, in his work "The Contemporary World of Islam" considers the drawing nearer of the peoples of our country, their powerful monolithic unity, their Leninist friendship, and proletarian internationalism a serious threat to Islam. It would be possible to add to the list of such instances. In the viewpoints of contemporary Islamic anticommunists and in their reactionary plans, special consideration is allotted to attracting the Muslims living in the USSR, especially in the republics of the Soviet East, to the Islamic unity movement.

Islamic anticommunists, like Christian and Catholic anticommunists, claim that the humanistic concept of communists about man does not conform to "Islamic humanism." They pour out slander that has no basis whatsoever about the situation of Islam, the mosque, and religious worship in the countries belonging to the socialist community headed by the USSR. In their view, supposedly, socialism tramples upon the rights of Muslims, and it materially and spiritually crushes those who believe to various degrees in Islam. The apologists of Islamic clericalism put forth in their reactionary concepts such fundamentally false ideas as the "drawing nearer" and "mutual enrichment" of Muslims by means of the Islamic religion. For this purpose they claim that Islam is essentially the important factor in the formation of peoples, and they falsify and create slander about the historical past of the peoples of the Near and Middle East, including the Turkic-speaking peoples. They speak of Islam as a "symbiosis." "Symbiosis" is a term pertaining to biology, and it means the living together of two organisms that is beneficial to both. That is, in their opinion the state is in such a "symbiosis" with Islam, and Islam with the state, Islam with the people, and the people with Islam. But the facts show just the contrary. When Khomeini returned to Iran from exile he made a promise based upon the Quran, the holy book of Muslims, and the laws of the shariat that all the people, including all Muslims, would have equal rights and property and that the living standards of the poor would be at the same level as those of the rich. But the Islamic Republic of Iran has not carried out these promises. As in the past, the wealthy Shiite layer of Iranian society lives well, while the poor who constitute the great majority of the population in the country remain in a pitiful condition. At present the number of unemployed in Iran is approximately 5 million.

Representatives of Iran's ruling religious Shiite circles, who have propounded the slogan "Neither East nor West," are showing in their practical activities a greater favoritism to the USA, which

is the sworn enemy of the Iranian people. This can be shown clearly from the following facts: according to the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR published in the USA, Iran in recent years has begun to establish close financial ties with the United States. The Islamic Republic of Iran has paid off the debt to 25 U.S. banks and nearly 100 financial institutions incurred in connection with the Iranian revolution. The exports of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USA in just 10 months of 1983 were \$932,000,000, or double the figure in 1982. The religious leadership of the Iranian Islamic Republic obtains many weapons from the USA via South Korea, West Germany, and other third countries. In 1983, alone, the Islamic Republic of Iran obtained \$30,000,000 worth of arms from the USA. The Iran-Iraq War, begun under the instigation of the USA, is without a doubt to the benefit of international imperialism. This can also be shown clearly from the following facts. The USA has brought its own naval and air forces to the Persian Gulf to ensure its "vital interests" and "free shipping" there, it has established its own military bases in this region, and in this way it has found the most appropriate opportunity to take aggressive measures against the national liberation movement and against social progress in the Near and Middle East.

The ruling clericalist circles of the Islamic Republic of Iran are also against democratic Afghanistan. By defending the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, the religious authorities of Iran and Pakistan stand at the same front as the USA and international imperialism, the implacable enemy of Afghanistan's April revolution. As can be seen, the Islamic clericalists who come out under the banner of religion are carrying out a policy contrary to the interests of the working people. It is no accident that the reactionary views of clericalist anticommunists whether adhering to Christianity or to Islam are always objectively criticized by our party.

In the materials of the June 1983 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it is stated that the numerous ideological centers of imperialism are not merely content with defending religion, but are demonstrating zeal in lending it an anti-Soviet and anticommunist direction. It is also possible to express this opinion about the clericalist Islamic anticommunists in the full sense. Reactionary Islamic clericalists defend international imperialism by every means. Summing up what has been said, it is possible to conclude that contemporary clericalist Islamic anticommunists disavow the class struggle of the working people for social progress, oppose the participation of believers and clergymen in the national liberation movement, and distort the teachings of Marxism and real socialism. Thus religion, including Islam, has in the full sense relinquished itself to the service of imperialism, reaction, apartheid, and Zionism.

9963

CSO: 1831/407

REGIONAL

AZERBAIJAN CP BURO DISCUSSES 1984 PLAN FULFILLMENT

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 6 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] On 5 January a meeting of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro was held with the participation of the republic party-economic aktiv. Results of the 1984 economic plan fulfillment and the draft for the 1988 socialist obligations for the Azerbaijan SSR were discussed.

Secretaries of a number of obkoms and gorkoms, officials from ministries, offices and enterprises with information pertaining to that question spoke.

First Secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee K. M. Bagirov summed up the results of the discussion. In his speech he gave, on the whole, a positive evaluation of the work of labor collectives and party, Soviet, trade union, komsomol and economic organizations in fulfilling the plans for economic and social development in 1984; pointed out existing shortcomings, omissions and reserves; spoke at length on the tasks of party organizations and republic workers on the early fulfillment of next year's plans and the 11th Five-Year Plan on the whole in light of the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress, subsequent CPSU CC Plenums and the aims contained in the speeches of General Secretary of the CPSU CP and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium K. U. Chernenko.

The appropriate resolutions were passed in accordance with the issue discussed.

Socialist obligations for the workers of the Azerbaijan SSR for 1985 were approved at the meeting. (Azerinform)

CSO: 1830/255

REGIONAL

KNOWLEDGE OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE FOR LITHUANIANS JUSTIFIED

Vilnius VALSTIECIU LAIKRASTIS in Lithuanian 11 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by J. Siupsinskas: "If You Have Learned the Word, Then You Know the Road"]

[Text] During the longer fall nights we among other things play with the radio dial. What voices is the world filled with! For example, here a sympathetic voice is heard saying in Lithuanian that you are working hard, however someone is cheating you out of the benefits obtained by your labor. For you, there in the Soviet Union, there is a shortage of this and that... You, because of hard work, still have this and that, but it soon will be taken from you. Thus they cram and cram your head day and night. Only after a while you realize that these sympathetic voices want to incite and cause quarrels in a harmoniously living family.

Being aware that every nation has an attachment to the culture of its forefathers, esteems its history and traditions, and values its native language, they whine at Lithuania with sharpened tongues and sympathetic voices: "You, dear countrymen, Lithuanians, under the guise of a great and make believe love toward those living in the embrace of the Soviet Union, they are slowly being smothered and denationalized..." This, in their thinking, affects us the most and creates different feelings.

And here I have to remind you that I have written articles ("Let's Talk Openly," "Let's Talk Openly Again") in VALSTIECIU LAIKRASTIS about bilingualism and that for the nations of the Soviet Union, of which there are very many, the Russian language is an adhesive and connecting material. Like cement. Other widespread world languages are also suitable for interaction: English, German, French, and Spanish. I, however, have great success in communicating in Russian with a Ukrainian or a Georgian. I was very happy when translators first translated Juozas Baltusis' novel "A Story About Juze" into Russian and not some other language: the entire Soviet land found out immediately how hardworking Juze, the man from Lithuanian countryside, is.

I also wrote in other publications about the necessity of mastering the Russian language. So, in the course of performing journalistic work, I once in a while hear rebukes from friends and acquaintances. One hears,

why are you so concerned about the Russian language and furthermore wish that Lithuanians fall in love with it. There are many other more interesting subjects. Are you unable to find any such?

I see in what direction that person is going. But I don't become angry... There is sincerity there, but the sincerity is erroneous, not too ingenuous, and not thought out. He is still not a true internationalist. Sometimes such a person is confused by emotions and is not able to rise above the small details of everyday existence. For such a person, I have the following answer:

Remember the history of the past century... When did denationalization begin? The estate owners rode in a carriage. Candelabras burned in the manor house. All the gentlemen and members of the household on the estate spoke Polish. And the Lithuanian peasant lighted splinters and lubricated the wooden axles of his wagon with mushrooms from the meadow. He reeked of smoke and was beset by vermin. He kissed the hands of priest and pastor. And they too spoke Polish. Possibly, one's poverty was embarrassing to a Lithuanian, and it was unaesthetic that he knew just the language of the poor and spoke just in Lithuanian.

The person speaking German was more wealthy and appeared superior. And maybe the ordinary folk began to deny that they were Lithuanians and attempted to prattle in Polish and German. Daugela became Dovgialo, and Gerulaitis--Gerulat. Economic differences and the material advantage of the foreigners awakened a desire for equality with them in at least some area and forced them to imitate the aliens and renounce their "tongue."

And now, tell me, can you see if non-Lithuanians have any economic privileges and receive, let's say, higher wages? Tell me, are the Russians more wealthy, and perhaps the state has designated higher wages for them, and perhaps they drive nicer cars, and you, observing them, are ashamed that you are such a miserable and poor Lithuanian? Tell me, is there something about you that makes you stand out in a crowd of Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Moldavians, and Armenians? Maybe you are wearing manure covered slippers and a coarse cloth shirt, or maybe you don't have pants called "jeans," which are fastened with shining rivets. Was nature miserly toward your people with talent--with architects, writers, poets, composers, singers, actors, movie stars? Are you ashamed to be a Lithuanian? It seems to me, no! In fact you are proud of your native land and its language. And the Soviet government, as you yourself can see, is doing everything so that your republic's economy would grow and its culture would flourish. If you work well and in a productive manner, it will grow and flourish...

And we interest other peoples in that in which we differ from them. Of interest to them is our world outlook, the sounds of our songs, and the movement of our dances.

So where does the danger of denationalization arise if your countrymen are not ashamed of their Lithuanianness?

The person listens and says nothing; there is nothing to say since he sees that the Soviet government has no reason to take away his national identity. Ghosts appeared before him as if he were a small child in an empty house at nightfall...

Nature takes care of itself according to its own laws. No one deliberately invented new languages--some wore away and disappeared and others appeared. There are many old nations which do not understand and know the languages which their direct forebears spoke and wrote in. And we can't tell how our offspring and descendants will speak after a thousand years. But there is one thing we must know up-front: all languages which we have inherited have the right to live and unfold as something special, a phenomenon, a manifestation of man's spirituality. If such a diversity exists, then it is necessary. And in the Soviet Union where according to historical circumstances the diversity of people is very great, the Russian language best helps everyone to interact with one another.

Professor Kostas Navickas in the 5th issue of 1982 MUSU KALBA wrote the article "Leninist Nationality Policy of the USSR During Conditions of Mature Socialism," which was published not by accident and to wit--during the 60th year of the establishment of the Soviet Union. Here we find quotations from Lenin. We also find extracts from the monograph "Sources and Future of the Standard Russian Language," written by the famous Russian linguist F. Filin, wherein he writes that only when mankind reaches communism, the highest stage in its development, "there will begin the blending of nations into one unified family of people and the nation as an historical category will cease to exist. When and how this will occur is difficult to determine. One thing is clear: the process of disappearance of nations will be long. Many centuries and possibly a thousand years will pass." And finally, F. Filin concludes: "Language is such a specific nationality trait that it can be lost only at the very end."

Let's yet look at a citation of another author--Kazimeras Garsva--found in the same issue of MUSU KALBA: "In the area of education as in other spheres, the linguistic and cultural needs of different nationalities is taken into consideration. According to the 1979 census data, 80 percent of the inhabitants of the Lithuanian SSR were Lithuanians, 8.9 percent--Russians, 7.3 percent--Poles, and 3.8 percent other nationalities. According to the data of the Ministry of Education, 84.4 percent of the pupils in 1981-1982 attending general education schools studied in the Lithuanian language, 13.1 percent in Russian, and 2.5 percent in the Polish language. There were 1,919 schools in the Lithuanian SSR where the language of instruction was Lithuanian, 98--Russian, and 54--Polish."

The mere fact that these important topics are discussed openly in our Soviet press indicates that the Soviet state and its government is not setting out to denationalize the smaller nationalities by giving special advantages to the larger ones. This is just a fabrication of provocateurs. All of us who are non-Russians and speakers of other languages have no reason to quarrel, and are seeking ways and means to preserve harmony, friendship, and concord in our common home. How extraordinary are the teachings of V. Lenin, on

whose basis our Communist Party is now steering our country for the seventh decade and avoiding nationality conflicts of which there are more than enough today in other countries.

I know that there were persons who were not happy when by means of articles in VALSTIECIU LAIKRASTIS I urged the people of the land of Nemunas to improve their command of the Russian language and to learn to read the best works of Russian literature in the Russian language as they were written by their authors. But I will remind you of what was said by a classic of our literature, Juozas Tumas-Vaizgantas, during the 1931 conference of Baltic educational workers: "I'm not discussing here the problem of communism. I'm only speaking of the Russian language which is sympathetically attractive, highly cultured, with a rich literature and body of knowledge." So who did not like the present-day articles by a journalist in which are promoted feelings of friendship between peoples? Most of all, the reactionary "wisemen" who have flocked together overseas... They want to set Lithuanians against the people of other nationalities, and to prove that everything that is good has been achieved by Lithuanians, and what is bad--has been brought from elsewhere. They seek in every possible way to provoke us, and from that, it appears, they are able to live quite well. But their windmill is not producing anything. I have heard that students at our Kaunas Polytechnical Institute even have a whole series of anecdotes which skillfully parody the whining Voice of America and other voices. Having heard them a few times the young people spit on the ground knowing that those voices want you, as if you were a crow, to drop the cheese and seed from your beak, and seek that in your house there would be disharmony, hatred, and quarrels.

In our country we are able to communicate without any difficulty with a Russian, a Pole, and if necessary, with a Tadzhik. I know of many examples where a Russian girl, having married a Lithuanian and living in Lithuania, sends her children to a Lithuanian kindergarten and school. Everyone decides as appropriate.

We have an old Lithuanian saying: "If you have learned the word, then you know the road." No one suffers shame by knowing a language. Is it possible that the servants of capitalist moneymen actually believe that they can make us quarrel because of the variety of languages.

12658
CSO: 1809/6

REGIONAL

KASSR CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS INDUSTRY BOARD MEETS

[Editorial Reports] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 16 January 1985 carries on page 3 a 200-word KazTAG report entitled "Construction Industry--to a New Step of Development" on the 15 January 1985 expanded session of the KaSSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry board. The accomplishments of 1984 and the measures being taken to fulfill the plan for economic and social development for 1985 were discussed. O. M. Beysenov, minister of the construction materials industry and other speakers noted that last year's goals for the production of slate, asbestos cement pipes, soft roofing and other materials were reached. However, it was noted that the ministry has been deficient in a number of areas, including the production of cement and of building materials. In order to compensate for this, the implementation of new technology and the strengthening of worker discipline was recommended. Ye. F. Brashmakov, secretary of the KaSSR CP Central Committee, and V. Ya. Sidorov, deputy minister of the USSR Construction Materials Industry addressed the session.

UZBEK PROCURACY ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES, WORK WITH YOUTH

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 December 1984 carries on page 2 a 100-word UzTAG announcement of a meeting on 24 December in the Uzbek SSR procuracy on the topic of interdepartmental coordination of the work of the republic's law enforcement and environmental protection organs. At the meeting there was a discussion of measures for further improvement between departments, ministries, and organs of control in organizing the struggle against violations of laws protecting the environment. At the same meeting ways of improving work with youth were discussed.

CSO: 1830/233

REGIONAL

KAZAKH CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE BURO MEETS

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 27 December 1984 carries on page 1 a 200-word report entitled "In the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro" on a regular session of the Buro which examined the work of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy and Law on increasing the ideological and theoretical level and the effectiveness of scientific research. It was noted that scientists are contributing to the solution of pressing philosophical and legal questions. There has been success in studying the problems of the development of national and international relations under socialism, in the training of scientific cadres, and other areas. However, it was noted, the institute has not adequately studied certain questions of Soviet law, the history of socio-political and philosophical thought in Kazakhstan, and the administrative and legal problems of agro-industrial complexes. The Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro directed the institute to delve more deeply into theoretical questions on developed socialism and the theory of Soviet law. The institute is to continue its study of the administrative and legal problems involved in developing the republic's productive forces, agro-industrial complexes and new forms of labor organization. The Buro also examined the wider use of secondary materials in industry, organizing the reprocessing of raw materials and goods, and the elimination of losses and excesses.

USMANKHODZHAYEV PRESENTS AWARD TO TASHKENT OBLAST

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 December 1984 carries on page 1 a 200-word UzTAG article titled "Memorial Banner Awarded." Uzbek First Secretary Usmankhodzhayev presented the Memorial Red Banner Award to Tashkent Oblast and made a speech on 17 December in Tashkent. The Memorial Red Banner is in recognition of the good results achieved by the oblast in fulfilling the state plan for economic and social development during the recent socialist competition.

CSO: 1830/233

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN SENIORS POLLED BY SOCIOLOGIST

[Editorial Report] Yerevan KOMMUNIST on 29 December 1984 carries on page 2 an 800-word article by R. Pogosyan, candidate, philosophy of sciences, entitled "What the Letters Said...." The article reviews the results of a questionnaire administered to graduating seniors (10th graders) in a letter form. The questionnaire focused on the upper classmen's views of the future and what they planned to do after graduation. The most startling conclusion derived from their answers, Pogosyan writes, is the lack of prestige for trade schools. "A technical diploma should carry the same social value in the eyes of the young as a higher education diploma," he writes. Schools and social institutions have an obligation to foster positive views regarding youths studying the trades. Parents must be included in the process of developing correct views on trade schools, since they are extremely influential in the student's choice of study after high school, he adds. There is a shift in the proffered course of study among today's graduating students. Where earlier the most popular choices were in the area of physics-math and technical sciences, today the focus is on socio-humanitarian subjects. The most absorbing questions are "political questions, the international situation, maintaining world peace, and world-wide disarmament (more than 100 respondents)." Many expressed a desire for improvement in various aspects of urban life, which indicates a mature socio-political level of awareness among the young, notes the author. Moral concerns were prominently expressed by the young respondents--questions on the relationships between generations, family, school, love and children. The author reports that the questionnaire underscored the students' basic lack of a sense of right and wrong. "Their level of a sense of justice leaves something to be desired," he writes. He concludes the article by suggesting that social opinion polls are most effective when they are conducted and studied by sociologists, psychologists and educators.

CSO: 1838/34

REGIONAL

UZBEK COMMISSION ON SHORTCOMINGS IN WATER USE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 December 1984 carries on page 2 a 200-word UzTAG article titled "Session of the Permanent Commission." The article notes that the Uzbek Supreme Soviet's Permanent Commission on Water Resources held a session on 24 December at which it discussed the account of the republic ministries of land reclamation, water resources and the hydraulic construction commission on work in improving the condition of the lands in the Surkhan-Sherabad Steppe. It was noted that the once lifeless expanse of the Surkhan-Sherabad Steppe had been converted into a productive cotton-growing region. Nevertheless, the article continues, work in reclaiming land in this area does not entirely meet the requirements, especially as far as land preservation is concerned. A number of land reclamation construction projects have not been completed and many drainage systems are not being kept in working order. "As a result of overwatering, too great a load is being placed on the drainage system, which leads to swampy conditions and to salinization of the cultivated areas. On the basis of the decisions of the October 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee aimed at a marked improvement in the irrigation and effective use of land, the commission made recommendations to the Uzbek Ministry of Water Resources, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the State Committee on Hydraulic Construction that effective measures be taken to correct the situation which has arisen and to assure plan fulfillment in the construction of irrigation projects."

CSO: 1830/233

REGIONAL

USMANKHODZHAYEV SPEAKS AT NEW POLITICAL AWARENESS COURSE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 January 1985 carries on page 1 a 200-word unsigned article titled "Cadre Training" which notes that Uzbek CP Central Committee First Secretary Usmankhodzhayev lectured to the 5 January charter meeting of the newly-founded school of the party management aktiv in Tashkent. The school was founded in accordance with a resolution of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee on improving the Marxist-Leninist training of management cadres. It will be attended by leaders of the departments of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Uzbek Council of Ministers, secretaries of the Tashkent Oblast, city, and rayon party committees, ministers and chairmen of state committees and their deputies, members of collegiums, leaders of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences and its scholarly institutions, artistic unions, newspapers, journals, publishing houses, television, radio and other republic organizations, leading workers of the Uzbek Labor Union, Komsomol Central Committee, chairmen of the Tashkent Oblast Executive Committee and the city executive committee as well as their deputies, editors, partorg secretaries, and social sciences department heads of Tashkent VUZes. The course includes a series of lectures on topical problems of the republic's social and economic life and a conference to draw conclusions.

CSO: 1830/250

REGIONAL

UZBEK SCIENTIST URGES ECOLOGICALLY SOUND LAND DEVELOPMENT

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 January 1985 carries on page 3 an 800-word article by A. Saidov, senior research scientist on the Uzbek Academy of Sciences' council for studying the republic's production forces, candidate of geographic sciences. The article, titled "In the Landscape's Mirror," makes the point that till now studies of the effects of land reclamation on the environment have been narrow in focus and have concentrated on individual aspects of the complex relationship between nature and agricultural development. Saidov calls for more comprehensive, integral studies based on the systems analysis approach. "These studies help, above all, to avoid socio-economic blundering in opening up new land for irrigation." Saidov finishes with a plug for accelerated development of his specialty of geographic science as an aid to fostering growth in agricultural production.

CSO: 1830/250

REGIONAL

NAMANGAN POLICE BATTLE FOREIGN EMBLEMS ON CARS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 18 January 1985 carries on page 4 a 200-word article by N. Shamsutdinov, chief of the state auto inspection, administration of internal affairs of the Namangan (Uzbekistan) Oblast executive committee, titled "Kitsch on Wheels." The author describes the results of a safety inspection in which over 2,000 drivers were ordered to bring their vehicles into conformance with the Rules of Traffic. Though the passion to decorate the interior of cars has abated, says the author, a new "epidemic" has infected the owners of private vehicles: car windows are now sporting emblems and inscriptions of foreign origin. "What, at first glance, is the significance of the harmless sign 'Inturist' in the Roman alphabet? Worship of all things foreign? Many of those stopped by the auto inspection workers were unable to say what the signs in their car windows meant."

USMANKHODZHAYEV AT TASHKENT OBLAST KOMSOMOL CONFERENCE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 20 January 1985 carries on page 1 a 400-word UzTAG article titled "Raising Komsomol Work to a New Level." Uzbek CP CC First Secretary Usmankhodzhayev addressed the Tashkent Oblast election conference of Komsomol members on 19 January in Tashkent. At the meeting praise for the organization's work was voiced as well as criticism of the fact that the Uzbek Komsomol does not always react adequately to new tendencies among youth, that insufficient measures had been taken to improve labor and production discipline, cadre selection, and charged the republic Komsomol with devoting special attention to work in the areas of the corn harvest, the mechanization of labor, increasing the cotton yield and improvement of its quality, actively involving youth in accelerating scientific technical progress, and increasing the productivity and quality of labor. Participating in the conference were: Chairman of the Usbek SSR KGB V. A. Golovin, pilot-cosmonaut and twice hero of the Soviet Union V. A. Dzhaniyev, first secretary of the Tashkent city gorkom U. U. Umarov, and first secretary of the Tashkent party obkom M. M. Musakhanov. Parallel meetings of oblast komsomol organizations were held throughout the republic.

CSO: 1830/254

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

RESHUFFLE IN DNEPROPETROVSK OBKOM--On 10 January, a Dnepropetrovsk Obkom Plenum discussed the tasks of the oblast party organization for implementing the decisions of the October 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Chernenko's directives, and the decision of the November 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on land amelioration and the increased effectiveness of ameliorated lands. Boyko, obkom first secretary, delivered a report. Organizational issues were examined. Comrade Zadoya, hitherto Dneprodzerzhinsk gorkom first secretary, was elected Dnepropetrovsk Obkom second secretary. Comrade Nivalov, hitherto obkom second secretary, has been transferred to another job. [Summary] [Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 85 AU]

CSO: 1811/14

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

21 Feb 1985